

[783] So it is stated in the Chronicles preserved in the Convent of S. Saviour at Jerusalem.

[784] [Page 160.](#)

[785] Plate XLVI.

[786] Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis, Lib. III. pars 14, c. 8, p. 255 (ed. 1611).

[787] Hist. Eccl. Lib. VIII. c. 30.

[788] Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis, Lib. III. pars 14, c. 8, p. 254.

[789] S. Mark xvi. 3, 4.

[790] Early Travels, p. 28. The author is at variance with the ordinary tradition on this point. The denial must have taken place at the house of Caiaphas.

[791] Quoted in De Vogüé, *Les Églises*, &c. p. 442.

[792] *Geographie Univ.* par. v. clim. 3, p. 444.

[793] Lev. xiii.

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## CHAPTER VII.

EXCURSIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE CITY ON THE NORTH AND WEST—THE MONUMENT OF HELENA OF ADIABENE, AND THE CHURCH DEDICATED TO S. STEPHEN—ROYAL CAVERNS—GROTTO OF JEREMIAH—HOUSE OF THE VINE—TOMBS OF THE KINGS—SHEIKH JERRAH—ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE—TOMB OF SIMON THE JUST—TOMBS AT THE HEAD OF THE KIDRON VALLEY—KIDRON POOL—VARIOUS TOMBS ON THE NORTH-WEST—TOMBS OF THE JUDGES—SHEIKH AYMAR—RUSSIAN BUILDINGS—VALLEY OF GIHON—BIRKET MAMILLAH—MONUMENT OF HEROD, AND RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF S. BABYLAS—GREEK CONVENT OF THE HOLY CROSS—PROPERTY OF THE ARCHIMANDRITE NICOFERUS.

Let us return to the picturesque Damascus Gate[\[794\]](#), and begin our examination from this point. In the first chapter[\[795\]](#) I mentioned that there was a Cufic inscription under the archway on the west side; this contains the Mohammedan confession of faith, namely, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his

Prophet." Outside the gate, on either hand, is a mound, formed by the continual accumulation of rubbish and soil which have been brought and cast down here for many centuries; the last addition being on the building of the Austrian hospice in 1857. These render it impossible to see the full extent of the ditch, which was made in the reign of Agrippa to defend the city-walls[796]. Following the road northward, some chiselled rocks are seen on the left hand, which I have already[797] stated to be, in my opinion, the remains of the monument of Helena of Adiabene. We must now consider the claims of this place to be the scene of S. Stephen's martyrdom; since we saw[798] that the present site, near S. Mary's church, was inadmissible. The Bible[799] tells us no more than that the Saint was "cast out of the city;" and as S. Paul witnessed the martyr's death, he may not improbably have pointed out the place to the Christians. In the fourth century this was said by tradition to be on the north of the city,[Pg 224] as we gather from a letter of the Priest Lucian, preserved by Quaresmius[800]: "He was stoned outside the north gate, which leads to Kedar." In the fifth century a magnificent church was erected here by the Empress Eudoxia, in honour of S. Stephen. This must have been built between the years A.D. 450 and A.D. 461, as she resided at Jerusalem during that period, having retired there on the death of her husband, Theodosius II., and died in 461; that is, in the fourth year of the reign of Leo I., Emperor of the East[801]. She was buried in this church[802]. From Evagrius[803] we also learn that "she built a church in memory of S. Stephen, Proto-deacon and Proto-martyr, of remarkable magnificence and beauty, which is not a stadium distant from Jerusalem." This place is about a stadium from the Damascus Gate. Nicephorus Callistus[804] also informs us that the church was the above distance from the city, and was of great size and beauty. This church is also celebrated for the synod which assembled there, A.D. 518, at the instigation of S. Saba, to maintain the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, at which a great number of monks was present; and we learn incidentally from the author of S. Saba's life[805], that the church was "able to hold a very large multitude." Antoninus of Piacenza, in the sixth century, calls the present Damascus gate the Gate of S. Stephen, and expressly states that through it was the way to Cæsarea and Diospolis, so that there can be no doubt of his meaning. This name was retained until the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt by Solyman I., A.D. 1536, when it was changed, for what reason history does not tell us; but we may conjecture that the church had by this time disappeared, and the tradition was misinterpreted by the Christians. The church built by Eudoxia can scarcely have escaped destruction during the persecutions of Chosroes II. in 614, and Hakem in 1010; but it was probably rebuilt on a smaller scale, for we learn from Robert the Monk[806], an author of the time of the first Crusade, who describes the details of the siege, that "the Counts of Normandy and Flanders encamped on the north of the city, near the church of S. Stephen the Proto-martyr, on the spot where he was stoned by the Jews." Again, Sæwulf[807] informs us that "the stoning of S. Stephen took place about two or three arbalist-shots without the wall, to the north, where a very

handsome church was built, which was entirely destroyed by the Pagans." Again, we find the following allusion in Albert of Aix[808]: "But Robert, Prince of the Normans, and the British Count, pitched their tents near the walls, where is the oratory of the Proto-martyr Stephen." Hence it is evident that up to the eleventh[Pg 225] century, the traditional site of the Saint's martyrdom was always on the north of the city; and that the ruined church of Eudoxia was replaced by an oratory, which was also destroyed by the Mohammedans on the approach of the first Crusaders. The church was rebuilt in the earlier part of the twelfth century under the Latin kingdom, for it is marked on the Plan of the Brussels manuscript with this title, 'Monasterium S. Stephani[809],' and is by the side of the north gate, there called 'Porta S. Stephani Septentrionalis.' It was served by the monks of a convent, which, however, is not mentioned in any history; but its seal has been published by Sebastian Pauli. Before its doors ran the Royal road[810], along which all the pilgrims from beyond the sea travelled to Jerusalem. On the other side of the road, on the left hand going to the city, "was a great house in front of this church, which was called the *asnerie*; there they were wont to keep the asses and beasts of burden of the house of the Hospital, whence its name *asnerie*. The Christians of Jerusalem destroyed this church of S. Stephen before they were besieged, because it was near the walls. The *asnerie* however was not demolished, as it was used by the pilgrims who came to Jerusalem in time of truce[811]." Indeed, on the east of the road leading to Jerusalem, opposite to the rocks marking the site of the church of Eudoxia, are some cisterns; and traces of walls are found when the labourers are digging in the fields, the sole remains of the buildings that once stood here. The Church of S. Stephen was, as we have said, destroyed by the Crusaders, A.D. 1187, to prevent its covering the advance of Saladin's troops towards the walls. Willibrand of Oldenburg[812] saw its ruins in 1211, and must have occupied the *asnerie*, for he speaks of "a certain house situated near the walls. At this place S. Stephen was martyred, in whose honour our faithful, as still appears, founded a church and archiepiscopate, where now the Sultan's asses are kept ... with the materials of the church a dunghill has been formed." The ruins of this church and *asnerie* have disappeared in the course of time; the tradition itself has been transplanted to another locality, as we have seen, and would now pass for correct, were it not for the historic documents which have preserved for us the probable position of S. Stephen's martyrdom.

Between the Church of S. Stephen and the north-west corner of the city, near the bastions of the walls, was the men's lazaretto, with a church dedicated to S. Lazarus. By the side of it was the small gate of S. Ladro, where the Royal road from the north came to an end by joining that which went from S. Stephen's Gate[813]. [Pg 226]

Going back from the place of S. Stephen's martyrdom towards the Damascus Gate, we find on the left a road leading eastward; and on the right of this is an aperture,

under the city-walls, which stand on a high rock; and close to the aperture a deep excavation. These are the Royal Caverns, and opposite to them, on the north, is the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah[814]. I have already mentioned[815], in speaking of the third line of walls, that I consider these two spots, now separated, to have been formerly united; and now, in giving a more minute account of them, I trust to shew that I am right in my opinion, and that the first-named place has been properly identified with the Royal Caverns of Josephus. It is not unfrequently stated in Jerusalem, that Dr Barclay discovered these great caves, which I call the Royal Caverns: and perhaps he was the first European in this century to describe them, but they were not unknown to the inhabitants of the country. They are called by the Arabs *Megharet el-Kotton* (the Cotton Grotto), and were known to Mejr-ed-Din, who thus writes of them: "Opposite to and to the south of the *Zahara*" (a Mohammedan cemetery situated above the Grotto of Jeremiah), "and below the northern gate of the city, is a great oblong excavation, called the Cotton Grotto, and some say that it even extends below the *Sakharah*." The notion, indeed, was common in the country, that from these caverns it was possible to penetrate into the *Haram es-Sherîf*: so that the adherents of the government would not allow any one to enter them. The Bedouins, however, and the Arabs of the country, took possession of them during the insurrection, and threatened to blow them up if their demands were not satisfied. I claim the merit of having rendered the passage practicable, and contributed to prove that there is no communication between them and the *Haram*. I have also made a correct plan of them, and conducted many persons thither, acting as their guide; among others, His Excellency Surrayya Pasha, M. de Barrère, Consul of France and M. Gérardy Saintine, who in his book 'Trois ans en Judée' has entirely availed himself of my discoveries, which I shewed him, without acknowledging his obligation to me for them, and for the two Plans of ancient and modern Jerusalem annexed to his book, which were furnished by me.

Nothing can be more surprising than these caverns, which seem to have been excavated by the generations of old, as a challenge to posterity. Immense halls, with their roofs supported by piers of natural rock, exhibit in their sides openings leading into long dark galleries, terminating in other chambers of large dimensions. On the left hand is a disordered heap of accumulated fragments of rock, a pile of enormous limestone blocks, lying in confusion one on the other; the spaces between which have been filled up by the soil falling down from above, so that on one side it rises like a rugged hill, on another presents a gentle slope; but any one who[Pg 227] incautiously attempts to traverse it has reason to repent of his undertaking. At the south end of the first excavation is a kind of fountain, surrounded by stalactites of the strangest shape, which have arranged themselves so as to form a sort of lengthened dome. The water, which falls in drops from above into the little basin, is not good to drink. It is brackish, and from my investigations I have come to the conclusion that it is not supplied by a spring, but filters through from the cisterns



excavated in the rock above: in fact, in the rainy season there is an abundant supply, but in summer it is dried up. It becomes brackish in passing through the rock, which contains many saline and ferruginous particles. Going eastward from this fountain, we pass along a cliff on the right hand, while on the left high white walls of rock shew the cavities from which the large stones have been extracted. At last we arrive at the deepest part, where is a chamber about 260 feet long, where we can examine in detail the manner in which the ancients quarried the monolithic columns, the great building stones, and large paving slabs. I think that the monolith in the vaults of *el-Aksa*, in the inner chamber of the Gate of Huldah, was taken from these caves; for here we find a place where a column of stone still hangs down from the roof, like a great stalactite. On comparing with this the measurements of the monolith, they were found to correspond in width and height; and the conjecture is still further confirmed by the colour and character of the stone. The process by which the blocks were extracted can be examined in the side walls. The masses were separated from the rock by vertical grooves nearly four inches wide, the inner boundary of which is a quadrant of a circle. These I believe to have been cut with a circular disk, worked with a handle, which moved it backwards and forwards through a half-revolution. At the present time the Arab masons use an instrument of the same kind in making a groove in a wall. When the groove was made of a sufficient depth to give a stone of the required thickness, they detached it with a pick, or raised the hinder face which adhered to the rock; this explains the great width of the vertical groove: consequently in the process of quarrying the stone was cut smooth on three faces. I have frequently measured the cavities from which blocks have been removed, and also the stones themselves which have been left partially attached to the rock, or which are lying on the ground, and found them correspond perfectly with many large blocks built into the east side of the *Haram* wall, more especially in its lower parts. Moreover, the mineral character of the stones is the same; so that I am fully persuaded that these caverns were made by Solomon, when he built the Temple, and were afterward enlarged by Herod for the same purpose, and by Agrippa for the new or third lines of walls, which he was obliged to leave unfinished. The stones quarried here well deserve the term applied to them by Josephus[\[816\]](#), that they were 'exceeding white.' Before[\[Pg 228\]](#) leaving these caverns I should warn the traveller that he ought not to visit them alone, relying simply on his own powers and his map for finding his way out again, but should take a guide, or at least a companion, and leave another trusty friend at the entrance. Of late years the place has become a haunt of ill-disposed persons, who retire here, not to lie in wait for travellers, but to celebrate their orgies; and therefore the stranger may, if alone, be pelted, without knowing where his assailant is. Besides, the road is not very safe in parts, and not easy to find by the light of a single candle. In winter, during the rainy season, let no one risk a journey in them; the falls of stone which happen at that time are sometimes not only alarming, but even fatal. In 1857 a large rock detached itself, and fell with a loud crash, while I

was measuring at the eastern end of the cavern. I felt far from comfortable until I found that the way back was still open, and I speedily availed myself of it, carrying out, with the help of my European servant, an Arab youth, whom the noise had frightened out of his senses. The pure air outside is refreshing, for the small opening which forms the entrance is insufficient for proper ventilation, and the close dense atmosphere within often causes faintness. This opening is only the upper part of the ancient one; formerly the caverns were entered through a large gap, which is now built up, and in a great measure buried in the soil. From this place the blocks of stone were transported into the city through the ancient North Gate, as I have already mentioned[\[817\]](#).

Let us now visit the Grotto of Jeremiah, where, according to tradition, the Prophet composed the Book of Lamentations. At the first glance we recognize it as the continuation of the caverns we have just quitted; and noticing the horizontal strata of limestone, from which the great blocks in the city-wall have been extracted, can readily conceive that those huge masses, mentioned by Josephus[\[818\]](#), may have been quarried here, although we cannot now find any traces of them. To enter this grotto we must obtain permission of a dervish, the keeper of the place; who, however, never refuses, as he not only hopes to receive a present, which he applies to adorn his retreat, but also is a man of a kind and courteous nature.

On passing the entrance we find, on the right hand, a large rectangular chamber, the walls of which at first sight appear to be entirely Arab masonry; but a careful examination detects large blocks of Roman workmanship, especially in the lower parts, and a piece of wall of the date of S. Helena. I am confirmed in my opinion on this point by the words of Nicephorus Callistus[\[819\]](#), who informs us that this Empress built a church near the grotto; therefore it is not improbable that these may be the remains of that edifice. To the east of the above chamber is a little irregular court, on the north of which is a very deep cistern excavated in the rock; and[\[Pg 229\]](#) on the south is a cavern of great size, which has been converted into a cistern. This is perhaps the origin of the tradition that here was the dungeon in which the prophet was placed[\[820\]](#). The tradition is inadmissible, whatever system be adopted for the line of the third wall; for in any case this place would be outside the second wall, and therefore a palace and a prison[\[821\]](#) would not occupy this position. Beneath the vaulting formed by the rock is the tomb of a Mohammedan santon, and a court enclosed by a low wall, in which the followers of the Prophet come to pray; where also the good-natured dervish has sometimes allowed the parties of distinguished travellers to lunch after a long excursion round the city-walls. The interior of the grotto in every part affords unquestionable signs of its having been a stone-quarry; for the cavities left by the blocks are still visible, and the holes on which the workmen have been engaged. I think therefore that this place was separated from the Royal Caverns[\[822\]](#) in quarrying stone, and may, strictly speaking, be called a part of them. Dr Schultz[\[823\]](#) has endeavoured to identify the

grotto with the monument of Alexander Jannæus, because of the statement in Josephus[824], "that John and his party defended the tower Antonia, and the northern cloister of the Temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of King Alexander." As these posts were held by John, after Titus had taken the outer line of walls, this position is of course inadmissible according to my theory; but putting that out of the question, it seems to me very improbable that Alexander, whom we know to have been honoured with a magnificent funeral[825], would have been buried in a place like this; and after the most careful examination of the interior, I have not been able to discover the slightest trace of sepulchral chambers; nothing beyond the chiselled faces of the limestone rock and heaps of rubbish.

Quitting the grotto we mount above it to the Mohammedan cemetery, called by the Arabs *Turbet ez-Zahara*, whence a view of the city is obtained; which, though limited, will, I think, shew the correctness of the position I assign to Bezetha.

Proceeding hence towards the north-east corner of the city, we find the Pilgrims' Pool, *Birket el-Hijah*, close to the Gate of Herod on the east, as I have already remarked[826]. This reservoir was unquestionably at first constructed to receive the waters of the narrow valley above, which I call the North Valley; whence they were conducted by a subterranean conduit across the city to the Pool of Bethesda. Its walls are formed of ancient blocks, perhaps of the date of Herod, or even of an earlier period; but have been greatly modified afterwards in the construction of a vault (now in ruins) which covers the greater part of it. The Christian tradition concerning this pool differs so much from the Mohammedan, that I transcribe it,[Pg 230] without however in any way asserting its truth. It says that, when the Empress Helena arrived at Jerusalem, she chose to enter it with all humility; and so without pomp, clad in a mean dress and barefoot, she entered the Gate of Herod; and that this circumstance gave the pool its name. From this point to the north-east corner the city-wall rises but slightly above the general level of the ground; consequently this is the weakest part of the defences, although it is strengthened by a ditch. Here it was that Godfrey of Bouillon scaled the wall and captured the city.

North of the pool is a plateau, on which stands an ancient Arab house, overshadowed by an old pine-tree, and surrounded by an olive-grove. This is called *Kerm es-Sheikh* (the farm or vineyard of the chief). The Mohammedan authorities of the highest rank who come to the Holy City, either as its governors or as pilgrims, are accustomed to pass the night here before their entry, and prepare themselves (as they say) by prayer to visit Jerusalem. There is a curious Mohammedan tradition attached to the place which may interest the reader; it is as follows: "When the potent and valorous Nebuchadnezzar, Sultan of Babylon, came to Jerusalem by the Divine command to punish the Jews who had abandoned the laws given them by God, he despoiled the Temple of all its valuables; reserving for himself the throne of Solomon, with its two golden lions which spoke by the power of magic, and

distributing the rest of the booty to the other Kings who had joined him in the expedition. The King of Roum had the coat of Adam and the rod of Moses; the King of Antioch received the throne of Belkiss and the miraculous peacock, whose tail, all studded with gems, formed a rich back to the throne; the King of Andalusia had the Prophet's golden table. A smaller coffer of common stone, containing the Law (*Torat*), lay in the middle of all these rich prizes, and no one heeded it; though it was the most precious of all treasures. It was consequently abandoned, and disappeared in the confusion that reigned during the sack of the city. Forty years afterwards God determined to re-establish the children of Israel in their old fatherland, and raised up the Prophet Euzer (Ezra); who, destined by Heaven for a glorious mission, had spent his youth in prayers and meditation, despising human knowledge in order to devote himself to the contemplation of the Eternal. He had lived in one of the grottoes that surround the Holy City<sup>[827]</sup>; but now came forth from his retreat, and went among the children of Israel to shew them how they ought to rebuild the Temple, and again worship God befittingly, according to the ancient rites. But the people, having little faith in the Prophet's mission, declared that they would not submit to the laws, but would rather leave off rebuilding the Temple and emigrate to another country,<sup>[Pg 231]</sup> if the book were not produced in which Moses had written the Law given to him by God on Mount Sinai. This book, as we have seen, had disappeared, and all endeavours to discover it were vain. In this difficulty Euzer with earnest prayers entreated God to interfere, and hinder the people from persisting in their blindness. He was seated in a vineyard, on the spot where the pine-tree now stands, regarding with sorrow the ruins of the Temple, around which the tumultuous populace was assembled. Suddenly a voice from heaven commanded him to write; and though he had never before taken a pen in his hand, he obeyed at once: From the hour of mid-day prayer to the same time on the morrow, without eating or washing, he wrote down all that the heavenly voice dictated; and stopped not for the darkness of night, for a supernatural light illumined his spirit, and an Angel guided his hand. All the Jews beheld with amazement this manifestation of the Divine Power; but when the Prophet had finished his miraculous writing, the Priests, jealous of the special favour shewn to him, asserted that the new book was an invention of the devil, and did not in any respect resemble the former one. Euzer again betook himself to prayer, and, yielding to a sudden inspiration, directed his steps to the fountain of Siloam, followed by all the people. When he arrived before it he raised his hands to heaven, and offered up a prayer to the Almighty, while the multitude knelt around. Suddenly a square stone rose above the surface of the water, and glided along as if supported by an invisible hand; in which the Priests recognized with terror the long-missing sacred coffer. Euzer received it reverently, and opened it with his own hands: the *Torat* of Moses sprang out as though endowed with life; and the new copy, quitting the Prophet's bosom, took its place. All doubt was now at an end; nevertheless the holy man bade the Priests compare the two copies. They, despite of



their confusion, did so; and, after a long examination, lifted up their voices and proclaimed that the two books did not differ by so much as a word or an accent. After they had rendered this homage to truth, they were struck with a life-long blindness, as a punishment for their former crimes." Though the whole of this story is but an Oriental fantasy, it is curious for its mention of the Law, and the circumstances and persons it records.

On the north, a few yards from the *Kerm es-Sheikh*, is an old Mohammedan cemetery, in which are some tombstones with ancient dates; none, however, earlier than the time of Saladin.

Going on northward over cultivated land planted with olives, we arrive at the Tombs of the Kings. I may observe, that during all this walk nothing is seen but a reddish clayey soil with a rich vegetation, or bare rocks without any marks of chiselling; nor are there traces of walls nor any dressed stones; all which proves, in my opinion, that this ground never formed part of the city; which must[Pg 232] in that case, have had its houses and walls built of shapeless fragments and clay, of which there is no lack.

To visit the Tombs of the Kings[828], called by the Arabs *Kubur el-Maluk*, we descend a slope, from west to east, which originally was a staircase with wide steps hewn in the rock; but its form has been completely hidden by the quantity of soil mixed with fragments of stone, which have been accumulated by the rain, the wind, and the hand of man. However, I ascertained that it once existed by an excavation at the top of the slope on the west, where I discovered three steps. At the lower end is an aperture of irregular shape, formed in the rock, through which I entered into a cave, after much trouble in clearing away the rubbish that blocked it up, and was able to determine, notwithstanding the accumulation of earth within, that it had never contained sepulchral chambers, but had been a cistern, large though not deep. Towards the eastern end of the wall, on the left hand as we descend, is a round-headed doorway hewn out of the rock, and ornamented with a small incised fillet. It is buried up to the spring of the arch, so that it is necessary to stoop in order to enter it. I began to make an excavation to examine its full height, but the large stones which I found below the surface would have rendered the completion of the undertaking so expensive that I abandoned it. However, I uncovered the door to a height of 8-1/2 feet including the arch. It leads into a rectangular court, open to the air, and surrounded by vertical walls hewn in the rock, as is the floor, which is buried under rubbish formed of the earth brought down by the rains from the fields above, and broken stones thrown in by the Arabs; who, barbarians as they are, exhibit the most provoking indifference to the preservation of ancient monuments, and view with a jealous eye everything that interests visitors, often mutilating what they cannot entirely destroy.

In the west wall of this court a vestibule is excavated with remarkable skill, the roof of which was formerly supported by two columns, also hewn out of the rock: these have now disappeared, owing to the effects of individual Vandalism, and the injuries of the earthquake in 1837. M. de Saulcy[\[829\]](#) has given the following excellent description of this monument: "Above the porch, on the face of the rock itself, runs a long frieze, carved with exquisite taste and delicacy. The centre of the frieze is occupied by a bunch of grapes, an emblem of the promised land, and the habitual type of the Asmonæan coinage. To the right and left of this bunch are placed symmetrically a triple palm, carved with the greatest elegance, a crown and triglyphs, alternating with pateræ, or round shields, three times repeated[\[830\]](#). Below this runs a rich garland of foliage and fruit, falling down at right angles on each side of the opening of the porch. The left-hand portion of this garland has been much[Pg 233] more injured by time than that on the right. Above the line of the triglyphs a fine cornice begins, formed of elegant mouldings, unfortunately much damaged, and rising up to the top of the rock, that is to say, nearly to the level of the surrounding country." The left-hand portion of this cornice is almost destroyed, not only by the Arabs, but also by the Americans; among whom a certain Mr Jones has especially distinguished himself by breaking off all the ornaments that could be carried away. Beyrout and Jaffa have been the chief centres of his destructive industry, so that he has destroyed the few monuments of Phœnicia and of Palestine that remained in their original positions. Hammer in hand, and dead to every sense of artistic beauty, he chops off fragments from the inscriptions of Sesostris, from the columns of Baalbek, and from the monuments of Jerusalem. The Tombs of the Kings have suffered more at his hands than from all the hostile invasions that have devastated Palestine.

On descending into the vestibule, we see in its south wall a small low door, which can only be passed by creeping on the ground. Here, though the result of my observations[\[831\]](#) will be found to differ from those of M. de Saulcy, I take this opportunity of expressing my respect for him, as one of the first persons to investigate with technical precision the monuments of Palestine. We come, then, to the entrance of the sepulchral chambers, by descending six steps hewn in the rock, which start from a circular hollow about two feet deeper than the general level of the floor of the vestibule, in which, no doubt, the funeral ceremonies were completed. I removed all the stones from this place in order to be able to give an exact account of it. On the left-hand side of the door in a kind of narrow gutter, which joins the steps again by a course of three sides of an oblong, is a large stone of an ellipsoidal form, the outline near the extremities of the shorter axis being flat instead of curved. On the right hand is a hollow in the wall, into which one of the apses of this stone was inserted. This arrangement enables us to form an accurate idea of the manner in which the Tomb of Christ was closed. The stone now rests with one of its apses on the ground, so that its longer axis is perpendicular to the

level of the floor. The upper segment of the stone corresponds with the cavity in the rock on the right hand; and the square, formed by the flattened edges of the stone and two lines joining their extremities, is larger than the doorway by rather more than an inch each way. It is therefore evident that it was not necessary to roll this stone, but simply to lower it from left to right, so as to turn the axes through a right angle and bring the shorter axis perpendicular to the ground; when the apse fitted into the above-mentioned cavity, and the stone, resting upon the lowest step, effectually closed the doorway. The means employed to raise and lower this stone was no doubt a chain,[Pg 234] passing over two pulleys, with vertical axes, which a person drew towards himself to raise the stone from its place. The two right-angled elbows in the above-mentioned channel were to apply the force to the chain more conveniently. The channel in which the stone lies was covered by a long slab, and we can still see the points on which this rested.

This is not the only way in which the aperture was closed, for, after passing this, we see the jambs which must have supported another stone door, moving on two pivots, the holes for which still remain above and below. When it was hung it must have yielded to the slightest push from without. Through this we enter a square antechamber, in which are three doors, one in the middle of the western wall, and the other two in the southern, one near each corner. Entering the western door, we come to a room with three smaller chambers opening out of the middle of each wall, each of which contains three sepulchral niches[832], consisting of a stone bier or slab under an arch; these three chambers are flanked on each side by casemate vaults, each having a channel cut in the rock in the middle of the floor; to each of which, with one exception, a small recess is attached to receive articles which had been valued by the deceased. Out of the central room a narrow sloping gallery in the north wall leads into a lower chamber, with a sepulchral niche in the west wall, and two steps against the north, the lower of which is larger than the upper. On one of these lay the sarcophagus[833], which M. de Saulcy has deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris; a similar one, broken in pieces, was found near. He considers the former to be the sarcophagus of David; but with this opinion I am unable to agree. Here there are places for three corpses. Returning into the antechamber we enter the door on the south-east, and find ourselves in a room with the openings of three casemate vaults in the south wall, and three in the east; two of these are provided with channels, and one with the recess in its wall; the other four are narrower than the rest; which have been completely finished off by their excavators, as is proved by their correspondence one with another in length, breadth, and height, by the regularity of their angles, and by the jambs supporting the doors which closed them. M. de Saulcy thinks that the latter were never finished, perhaps because they are not so wide as the others, and have no channel in the floor; but, in my opinion, this was only made to catch the moisture that dripped from the corpse during putrefaction, and by draining it off to allow the body to become dry more

rapidly. Therefore I[Pg 235] consider that in the narrower vaults bodies which had been previously dried up were placed. Let us now return again into the antechamber and visit the room on the west of that just described. In the south wall of this are three finished casemate vaults, and the same number in the west, five of which have the channel, while the sixth belongs to the narrower class already mentioned. Two of the five have also the attached recess. In the north wall is a small door leading by a narrow descending passage into a small chamber containing three sepulchral niches. Thus there are altogether thirty-three biers, including among these the two steps on which the sarcophagi were found. Round each of the three rooms communicating with the vaults runs a small foot-path, raised above the general level of the floor, so that a kind of basin is formed at the bottom of the chamber. Into this I suppose the moisture escaping from the bodies during putrefaction flowed; perhaps there were holes in the sides to admit water, or allow of the escape of fluids; but this I could not ascertain, as the floor was covered with rubbish. Each chamber was closed by a stone door, which worked on pivots fixed in two holes. At the present time the doors lie on the ground broken to pieces, and though every one must admire their workmanship, no one has attempted to preserve them from total ruin by conveying them away to some European museum. Many authors have endeavoured to explain how they were made[\[834\]](#); but I think they were brought from some other place, when completed, and then set up. I am led to this conclusion by observing that they are of a different kind of stone to that seen in the walls of the chambers; that is, of a more compact limestone without veins. All the workmanship in the excavation is admirable, and the angles are formed with the greatest accuracy. Chisels, hooks, and the revolving cutters, appear to have been the instruments used. There have been many controversies about the origin and use of these tombs: some consider them to have been the monument of Helena of Adiabene; but in that case it would be difficult to explain for what purpose the thirty-three receptacles were made, as Josephus says that she and her son alone were buried there. M. de Saulcy endeavours to prove them to be the Tombs of the Kings; but I have already shewn[\[835\]](#) that this is contrary to the Bible, Josephus, and tradition. From the Books of Maccabees and Josephus, we are enabled to determine the Tombs of many Asmonæan princes. With regard to the family of Herod, we know that Herod the Ascalonite was buried in Herodium; his sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, and others, in Alexandrium near to Shiloh; Agrippa in the valley of Gihon; Antipas died in Gaul; consequently none of these can lie here. We know that when Aristobulus was poisoned by the partizans of Pompeius, his body was preserved in honey, and sent to Jerusalem by Antonius[\[836\]](#). He may therefore be one of those who were[Pg 236] buried in these tombs, in which other members of the royal family, especially women and children, may have been interred. The monument being of the Doric order does not allow us to assign it to an earlier period. The Jews visit these tombs with reverence, and the Arabs exact from them a payment on entrance, to which they patiently submit. They do not, however, consider these to be the burial-places



of their first Kings, but of the last; so that here tradition agrees with the architectural evidence furnished by the monument.

About a hundred yards from the Tombs of the Kings, to the south-west, in a field planted with olives, is a sepulchre, excavated vertically in the rock[\[837\]](#). It is almost the only example of its kind in the open country in Palestine, and is the more remarkable because the Tombs of the Patriarchs in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, that of Rachel near Bethlehem Ephrata, and of Samuel at Ramah (*Neby-Samwîl*) are of the same kind. Round the edge of the oblong grave runs a step, into which a stone is fitted so as to close the hole firmly, and on this was placed a sarcophagus. This I have ascertained by a careful examination of those at Ephrata and Ramah.

Hence we return to the road running to the north, and, after passing the Tombs of the Kings, find on the left an Arab building called *Sheikh Jerrah*; a place in much veneration among the Mohammedans, especially those of the country; since it contains the tomb of a santon, who, as they believe, has the power of granting them prosperous expeditions, abundant harvests, and good luck, especially with their fowls and eggs; of which articles a small tribute is paid to a live dervish, who acts as go-between for them in their petitions to the dead santon.

Keeping along the road to the right leading to the open country on the north-east, we come to a spot on the southern bank of the Kidron Valley, where there are signs of excavations, if not of tombs. One of these is remarkable for its large dimensions; it is entirely excavated with the chisel, and shews some trace of a gallery hewn out of the solid rock in its upper part. This is *Jadagat el-Ahel*, which I have already mentioned[\[838\]](#). All the Jews assert that during the persecutions their race underwent, in the times of Hadrian and of the Byzantine emperors, this place was used as a synagogue by those, who, despising the perils of the journey, came from far that they might behold their ancient capital, if only from a distance. I have already mentioned the explanation of the name; but another tradition is current among the more ignorant and prejudiced Jews, which is given by Saintine[\[839\]](#): "When Titus was besieging Jerusalem, and had completely blockaded the town with his legions, in the month *Bûl* (November) provisions began to fail the inhabitants. Then[Pg 237] universal misery prevailed in the city, and the famine slew more than the Romans. In this extremity, even the women and children were killed to nourish the combatants; but these sufferings, terrible as they were, did not appease the wrath of Heaven, and the city was taken and sacked with every atrocity of war. At this time there lived at Jerusalem a very wealthy Jew, who had been educated at Rome, and for this reason was allowed to retain his riches. But what good were they now to him? His wife and boys had been sacrificed to the horrible cravings of hunger. This fearful scene was ever present to his mind, and banished repose. He could only find one solace: he determined to give a portion of his

property to his wretched fellow-citizens; and further, he made a vow to distribute corn, meat, and wine, among them at this place, every year at the feast of Purim; so that they might be able to share in the general joy, and celebrate the festival in a proper manner. So sped the years; the evils of the war were beginning to be less felt, when the new generation, seduced by a false Messiah named Cosiba, again endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke. The aged man still remembered too well the miseries of the former siege; he implored his brethren to abandon their fatal determination, relating to them what he had seen and suffered; but his efforts were fruitless. At length it was revealed to him from heaven that soon the city would again be destroyed by the armies of Hadrian. For the last time he tried to induce the rebels to submit, but in vain; then, preferring to die rather than witness the misfortunes of his country, he prayed to God to remove him from the earth; the roof of the cavern fell in, and buried him in its ruins under the heap which still lies before its mouth. Still however, every year, at the feast of Purim, the dead man takes a piece of money from his hidden treasures, and places it on the rock in order to continue the 'alms of food' to the poor." Before 1857 there was an isolated mass of rock in the middle of this monument, to which the Rabbins and a great number of people came on their feast of Pentecost to pray and read the Pentateuch, but it has now disappeared, because, in building the Austrian hospice, this place was used as a stone quarry, and greatly mutilated. It is to be hoped that what remains will not be destroyed by a repetition of this vandalism, when another work of charity is executed for a European nation.

On ascending the Kidron Valley we find, on its northern bank, a place, commonly called the Tomb of Simon the Just. A few years ago a Mohammedan, seeing that it was frequented by the Jews, affixed a door to it, expecting that he would be able to extract money from those who wished to visit it. He has not been disappointed in his hopes, and reaps large gains. Whether the name is rightly given, I do not know; but it is not contrary to any tradition. The interior is not remarkable; only there is a small cistern, well constructed, on the side of the casemate vault. The Jews visit this spot for prayer at all seasons, but especially when rain[Pg 238] is needed for the country, after it has been parched during nine months by a blazing sun.

Further up the valley, after crossing the road to Samaria, we find, still on the northern side, an ancient tomb[840], the exterior of which is completely mutilated. In the front court is a fragment of the western end of a wall, hewn out of the solid rock; all the rest of it has been destroyed. In the piece which remains we find a conduit and small basin; these clearly prove that water must have been supplied from some higher ground on the north; but I have not been able to discover whence it came. Against the north wall is a heap of soil, nearly covering up an aperture; through the part still open, though overgrown with creepers, it is possible to crawl into the interior[841]. Here we find a rectangular vestibule which evidently has been converted into a cistern, as its walls have been covered with strong cement,

and a hole made in the roof, through which soil and broken stones are brought down from the hill-side above, in the rainy season. A small door in the middle of the north wall leads into an antechamber in good preservation, in the east wall of which is the passage into a chamber with eight biers, one of them being a sepulchral niche, and the rest casemate vaults, without channels, but sloping slightly downwards towards the floor of the chamber, round which runs a kind of footpath, above the general level of the floor, as in the Tombs of the Kings. At the end of one of these vaults is the small recess. As the dimensions and finish of these correspond with those of the small vaults in the above-named tombs, they would be considered unfinished by M. de Saulcy. Returning into the antechamber, we find in its western wall a small door leading into a single casemate vault, which is much larger than any other of its kind in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This monument does not bear any special name, but must have belonged to a wealthy family, because, although it is not so large as the other great tombs, its execution is not inferior to theirs.

Descending from this point to the bed of the Kidron Valley, we find a nearly square pool. Though this is now almost filled with earth, yet in the rainy season the waters flow into it from the slopes above, and form a sort of little lake, which is then the source, so to say, of the Kidron. I have investigated carefully the ground above, endeavouring to discover some proof of the existence of a spring, but in vain. By excavating I found that the depth of the Pool was fifteen feet.

From this position we ascend in a north-westerly direction, and then turn southward towards an ash-coloured mound. All along our course we observe numbers of ruined and broken tombs, and can readily comprehend the account given by Jose[Pg 239]phus[\[842\]](#) of the levelling executed by Titus' army, between Scopus and the city. The small mound mentioned above has been examined by Liebig, who considers it to be composed of the ashes of bones and animal remains. This might be true of the specimen submitted to him, but I am of opinion that it chiefly consists of ashes from the soap-works of Jerusalem, mingled with soil and broken stones, with bones of dogs and other carrion, that have been cast out there. I have arrived at this conclusion, after making large excavations in the heap, and availing myself of its materials to mix with lime in making a strong cement, which I used in building and repairing terrace-roofs, and in conduits and cisterns. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the proprietors of the soap-works themselves, have assured me that the greater part of this deposit was formed during the time of Ibrahim Pasha, by whose orders the refuse of their manufactories was conveyed outside the city.

By following the road, which leads in a north-westerly direction to Gibeon, we find on the left-hand side, at a distance of about two hundred yards from the above mound, a tomb which differs in form from all those already described. It has an antechamber, and from it three doors lead into three small chambers, in which there

are no biers. At the first glance I was inclined to consider it as an incomplete work, but from the perfect execution of its interior and its frontispiece[843], I came to a different conclusion after I had had many opportunities of examining both finished and unfinished sepulchres.

Keeping along the road, we see before reaching the Tombs of the Judges, numbers of tombs dispersed about the ground on our right hand, some partly destroyed, some converted into cisterns, and others still uninjured. All this land was a large field of the dead, where the ancient Jews excavated sepulchres suitable to their wealth and station. One among them is remarkable as giving us a correct idea of that in which our Lord was laid; for it consists of an antechamber, and a burial chamber, in which is a single niche to receive a corpse, on the right hand of the entrance[844]. A few yards further on, we come, after turning to the right, to the Tombs of the Judges[845], called by the Arabs *Kubur el-Godka*. There does not appear to be any reason for the name. Eight of the fifteen Judges who ruled the people between the death of Joshua and the accession of Saul were certainly buried elsewhere: and it is far more likely that the rest would sleep with their fathers among their own tribes, after the usual custom of the Israelites. It seems to me much more probable that certain members of the Sanhedrim were buried here, according to the traditional belief of the Jews now in Jerusalem, who visit this spot from no other motive than curiosity. The exterior of the vestibule is decorated with a frontispiece resembling that in the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, consisting of a cornice and pediment, the tympanum of which is richly carved with palm-leaves[Pg 240] and foliage, with three acroteria, perhaps intended for funeral emblems (torches), one on the summit (effaced), and the other two at each end. Under the cornice is a row of small modillions. Beneath the cornice, and on each side of the opening, runs an ornamental group of mouldings. A low narrow door similarly decorated is placed in the middle of the vestibule, and gives admission to the sepulchral chambers, six in number, and containing altogether sixty-three biers. Sixty of these are narrow casemate vaults, of the class which M. de Saulcy considers as incomplete receptacles, and three are sepulchral niches. The execution displayed in these tombs is not inferior to that at the Tombs of the Kings, nor do they yield to them in elegance or arrangement, especially in the interior. At the south-west corner of the first chamber is a narrow staircase, which I found blocked up with enormous stones, fitted together in order to close the entrance. After removing them with no small trouble I understood the reason why they were so placed. In the entrance below lay a corpse, not yet reduced to a skeleton; the head and right hand of which had been severed from the body; signs of a cruel vengeance, of which I discovered other instances in my researches in the country. This unfinished sepulchral chamber fully supplies us with the means of studying the construction of these receptacles of the dead. In it are the beginnings of nine casemate vaults, and the instruments used have evidently been the chisel and the revolving cutter which I have already



described[\[846\]](#). The limestone from which the whole of the monument is hewn resembles in quality that at the Tombs of the Kings; but it is of a yellowish colour veined with red, and takes a polish like marble. It is easily quarried at first, but becomes hard when exposed to the atmosphere.

Returning from the Tombs of the Judges, by the field-path southward, we reach the road to the village of Lifta, which we follow westward, in order to visit the little Mohammedan mosque, wherein repose the ashes of a santon called Sheikh Aymar, who fell in battle against the Christians. The place is not worth a visit for the sake of its architecture, but there is a curious legend connected with it. Over the entrance-gate is a large architrave of finely polished red granite. The story is, that an Arab devoted to the saint found this block in some distant country, and was enabled to bear it on his back to ornament the tomb of his patron, although from its natural weight eight men at least would have been required to move it. They say also that Ibrahim Pasha, struck with the beauty of the stone, tried to take it away, but the invisible hand of the saint kept it fixed in the wall; so that the Pasha himself became his devotee. Returning towards the city, we can visit the buildings which Russia has erected at great cost in a short time, for the use of the mission of its Church at Jerusalem, and to receive pilgrims who visit the Holy Places. I have already spoken of them[\[847\]](#), and the description of the Plan[\[848\]](#) will[Pg 241] explain their arrangements. Though Russia began her work the last, she will in a short time surpass all the other religious communities. It was also upon this spot, and as far as up to the convent of S. Saviour, that Sennacherib encamped his troops. Titus at a later period fixed his head-quarters here, when he was preparing to attack the third line of walls; here also he reviewed his army, in the hope that the sight of his power and resources might terrify the Jews into submission. As the troops would extend from the north-west angle of the present wall towards the east, the citizens would be able to see them very well[\[849\]](#). The Crusaders also occupied the ground belonging to Russia, and all their positions may be seen at a glance from here. Godfrey of Bouillon attacked the north-east corner of the wall; Robert Duke of Normandy the part by the Grotto of Jeremiah; Robert Count of Flanders, that opposite to the rock where I place the tomb of Helena of Adiabene; Tancred from this position stormed the castle of Goliath (*Kâsr Jalûd*), the tower Psephinus in my opinion; Raymond Count of Toulouse pitched his camp on the west, where the small Greek convent of S. George now stands, and directed part of his troops, commanded by the Count of S. Gilles, against Sion: these, after many valiant deeds, gained the south wall, above the present Christian cemetery.

We now descend into the Valley of Gihon, to visit the Pool of Mamillah and the surrounding Mohammedan cemetery; but before reaching it we observe a large and level boulevard leading to the city. I proposed to Surraya Pasha to make this in order to give a promenade to the inhabitants; and though the plan was not carried out as I desired, still I think that I have done a service to the citizens in giving them

one good road for walking, instead of stony paths or rugged tracks on the hill-sides. Entering the cemetery, from the western end of this promenade, we come to the Pool of Mamillah, which I identify with the 'Upper Pool[850].' From this started the deep canal by which Hezekiah brought the waters of Gihon within the western part of the city, when he closed up the fountains on the approach of Sennacherib's army. The subterranean conduit still exists, though it is now exposed and devastated in places, and is used to convey the rain-water from the Upper Pool to that of Amygdalon within the city; for which reason the latter is still called the Pool of Hezekiah. Josephus[851] gives to the Upper Pool the name of 'The Serpent's Pool,' and the Arabs call it *Birket Mamillah*. The derivation of the name I have already explained[852]. S. Jerome[853] calls it the 'Fuller's Pool;' perhaps founding the name on the passages in the Bible[854], which shew that the Fuller's field was in its neighbourhood. In the middle ages it was called 'The Patriarch's Pool.' The passage in which it is mentioned is as follows[855]: "Outside the David Gate was a pool towards the setting sun, called the Patriarch's Pool, where the waters of the surrounding country were collected for watering the horses. Near this pool was a charnel-house, called the Lion's Charnel-house. Now I will tell you why it is called the Lion's Charnel-house. One day, as they say, there was a battle between the Christians and the Saracens, betwixt this charnel-house and Jerusalem, in which many Christians were slain, and the Saracens were intending next day to defile the bodies. So it happened that a lion came by night, and carried them all into this ditch, as they said. Above this charnel-house was a church, where people sang services every day." Perhaps this church was dedicated to S. Babylas, of which now only a mass of ruins remains, also covering sepulchral caves. Here I place the monument of Herod, mentioned in the account of Titus' wall of circumvallation[856]. The Mohammedan cemetery surrounding the pool dates from the age of Saladin; for here are found some ancient sarcophagi, and epitaphs bearing the names of certain of his generals. All this spot is highly esteemed by the Mohammedans, and their chief men are usually buried here.

We will now take the road to the west, leading to S. John in the Mountains (*Ain Karim*), and visit the Greek convent of S. Cross, called by the Arabs *Deir el-Mar-sullabi*, which we reach in about twenty minutes. Its name is derived from the tradition that the tree grew here from which the Cross of Christ was made. Quaresmius[857] informs us that the Empress Helena built a church here to mark the spot. Dositheus, Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem towards the close of the seventeenth century, who wrote the history of his predecessors in that office, is of opinion that the monastery of S. Cross was built by Justinian I. at the prayer of S. Saba, who had gone to Constantinople to refute some calumnies which had been promulgated by the Samaritan, Arsenius, in order to bring the people of Palestine into bad repute with the Emperor. He supposes also that the Georgians, who occupied it for a long time, were the builders. The Persian invaders under Chosroes

II. utterly destroyed the monastery, but spared a part of the church; murdering, nevertheless, all the monks who had fled there for refuge, so that the tessellated pavement, of great antiquity, still preserves the stains of their blood. The Reverend Dionysius Cleopas, a most courteous and learned man, the director of the school of S. Cross, pointed out these stains to me, informing me of the tradition concerning them. Though I am far from yielding a blind assent to it, I cannot but remember how long the stain of blood remains upon marble or stone, if it has lain and dried up there. In this case the blood of more than a hundred victims must have been shed and left there.[Pg 243] At the same time it must be remarked that the stains, which extend below the surface of the tesserae in the pavement, are not red but of a blackish colour.

When the Greeks purchased the convent from the Georgians it was wholly in ruins; now, however, it is one of the finest establishments in Palestine. Though rather an irregular building, it stands in a great measure on the ancient site. In it are the schools where poor youths of the Greek faith are maintained without charge, together with a library, and a fine apartment for the use of the Patriarch when he visits the place. The church[\[858\]](#) deserves a visit. Four large piers, from which spring pointed arches, divide it into a nave with two side aisles. It is also adorned with a pointed dome. The walls are decorated with ancient frescoes, and on these are Georgian inscriptions shewing that the church and convent were restored two hundred years ago. In the apses are curious pictures representing the whole history of the sacred tree; the hole, in which it is said to have grown, is exhibited behind the great altar. Michael Glycas reports in his annals[\[859\]](#) the tradition from which the name of the church is derived. Though it is a thorough Arab story, I relate it, as it explains the pictures. "When Abraham became aware of the sin which Lot had committed when overcome by wine, he ordered him to go to the banks of the river Nile in Egypt, and bring thence three boughs of different trees, in the expectation that he would be devoured on the journey by the wild beasts, and would thus expiate his crime. Lot, guided by heaven, accomplished the dangerous task, and returned unhurt with the three boughs, one of cypress, another of pine, and the third of cedar. Abraham not being contented with this, ascended this hill and planted the three boughs in the form of a triangle, ordering Lot to fetch water for them every day from the Jordan, a distance of twenty-four miles." (This is the distance of the river from the convent.) "Lot obeyed this command also, and after three months the boughs united and budded, but their roots were always separated one from the other. Therefore Abraham prophesied that by means of their wood sinful men were one day to be redeemed. In the days of Solomon the tree had grown to a great size, and was cut down by that King to be used in building the Temple. But by the decree of Heaven its trunk remained forgotten till the Saviour's Passion, when the Jews used it to make the Cross. The hill, on which Abraham is said to have planted the three boughs, is to the south-west of the convent, and is still called by the Arabs 'The

place of the boughs.'" Heraclius is said to have stayed in this convent on his return from his expedition against the Persians to recover the Holy Cross.

On our return to Jerusalem from the monastery by the road to the east of that by which we came, we see the quarries from which perhaps were extracted the columns[Pg 244] of red breccia which adorn the mosque *el-Aksa*, and many churches in Palestine. On reaching the summit of the hill we regain our former road, and enter Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate. During our return we notice with admiration the efforts made by the Archimandrite Nicoforus for the improvement of the country, and the energy and intelligence displayed in all his agricultural undertakings, especially in planting trees. It is to be hoped that his attempts will be crowned with success, and that the Arabs will avail themselves of the opportunity, and join in a work so calculated to advance the prosperity of the country.

## FOOTNOTES:

[794] Plate VII.

[795] Page 6.

[796] Page 35.

[797] Page 37.

[798] Pages 168, 169.

[799] Acts vii. 58.

[800] Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ, Lib. IV. peregr. 8, c. 2, Tom. II. p. 295, col. 2. See also, c. 3, p. 297, col. 1, ed. 1639.

[801] Nicephorus, Hist. Eccl. Lib. XIV. c. 50.

[802] Evagrius, Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. 22.

[803] Ibid.

[804] Hist. Eccl. Lib. XIV. c. 50.

[805] Vita Sabæ, c. lxxxii.

[806] Historia Hierosol. Lib. IX. (Gesta Dei, &c. Tom. I. p. 74, ed. 1611).

[807] Early Travels in Palestine. 'Bohn's Ant. Lib.' p. 43.



[808] Hist. Hierosol. Lib. V. c. 46 (G. D. &c. Tom. I. p. 274); cf. Lib. VI. c. 9, and William of Tyre, Lib. VIII. c. 12.

[809] De Vogüé, Les Églises, &c. p. 333.

[810] Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 306.

[811] La Citez de Jherusalem, quoted by De Vogüé, p. 333.

[812] Leo Allatius, Sym. p. 146.

[813] La Citez de Jherusalem, quoted by De Vogüé, p. 441; Cartulary, p. 306.

[814] Plates VIII., IX.

[815] [Page 38.](#)

[816] [Jewish War, V. 5, § 6.](#)

[817] [Page 38.](#)

[818] [Jewish War, V. 4, § 2.](#)

[819] Hist. Eccl. Lib. VIII. c. 30.

[820] Jer. xxxviii. 6.

[821] Jer. xxxviii. 6, 28.

[822] [Jewish War, V. 4, § 2.](#)

[823] Jerusalem, p. 36.

[824] [Jewish War, V. 7, § 3.](#)

[825] [Ant. XIII. 16, § 1.](#)

[826] [Page 14.](#)

[827] This grotto is still called *el-Oezerie*, and is known to the Arabs as the Tomb of Lazarus.

[828] Plates LV., LVI.

[829] Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea, &c. (edited by Count E. de Warren, Vol. II. pp. 137, 138).

[\[830\]](#) Plate LX.

[\[831\]](#) My remarks may appear to resemble closely those made by M. Gérardy Saintine, *Trois Ans en Judée*, p. 224. As he has used information given to him by me, without any acknowledgment, I feel entitled to resume my own.

[\[832\]](#) The term 'sepulchral niche' is used to denote an arched recess excavated in the wall of a tomb; the body was laid on the slab beneath the arch, so that it resembled one of the monuments with recumbent figures, not very uncommon in the walls of churches. The term 'casemate vault' is used (in default of a better) to denote a narrow, deep, and rather low excavation, into which the body was thrust head foremost. Brick vaults are sometimes built on this pattern in the present day.

[\[833\]](#) Plate LVIII.

[\[834\]](#) Mariti, p. 216 seq.

[\[835\]](#) [Page 210.](#)

[\[836\]](#) [Jewish War, I. 9, § 1.](#)

[\[837\]](#) See Plate LVIII. for Plan and Section.

[\[838\]](#) [Page 38](#); Plate LVII.

[\[839\]](#) *Trois Ans en Judée*, p. 214.

[\[840\]](#) Plate LIX.

[\[841\]](#) I advise the visitor to take with him an Arab to beat the ground, in order to make the reptiles conceal themselves, and frighten away the jackals which frequent it, before he enters the place.

[\[842\]](#) [Jewish War, V. 3, § 2.](#)

[\[843\]](#) See Plan, Plate LIX. Frontispiece, Plate LVIII.

[\[844\]](#) Plate LIX.

[\[845\]](#) Plates LVIII., LIX.

[\[846\]](#) [Page 226.](#)

[\[847\]](#) [Page 13.](#)

[\[848\]](#) Plate II.

[849] [Jewish War, V. 7, § 3; V. 9, § 1.](#)

[850] [2 Kings xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30; Isaiah vii. 3.](#)

[851] [Jewish War, V. 3, § 2.](#)

[852] [Page 24.](#)

[853] [De Locis Hebr. litt. T. \(Tapheth\).](#)

[854] [2 Kings xviii. 17; Isaiah vii. 3.](#)

[855] [La Citez de Jherusalem, De Vogüé, Les Églises, &c. p. 442.](#)

[856] [Page 40.](#)

[857] [E. T. S. Lib. VI. pereg. 4, c. 7, Tom. II. p. 712, col. 2, ed. 1639.](#)

[858] [Plate LXIII.](#)

[859] [Pars II. p. 254, ed. Bonn, e cod. Claromont.](#)

[Pg 245]

## **CHAPTER VIII.**

### **ON THE WATERS, FIT OR UNFIT FOR DRINKING, IN JERUSALEM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.**

In the seven preceding chapters I have several times mentioned the waters, drinkable and undrinkable, and the sewers, when we have come across them in the course of our investigations; but I have not always entered into details, reserving them for this chapter. Therefore I now proceed to treat the subject at length, with the view of shewing, as clearly as is possible, the means which the former inhabitants of Jerusalem possessed of obtaining an abundant supply of water, and removing the sewage of the city; and I shall also notice the carelessness exhibited by the Arabs with regard to every part of the works of their predecessors in the country, and how they rather employ themselves in accelerating than in arresting their destruction.

I am persuaded that there are some springs in Jerusalem and in its neighbourhood; but these have never been sufficient to supply the wants of the population without assistance; consequently the earlier Jewish Kings executed important hydraulic works to introduce an abundant supply into the city, and to preserve it there in

reservoirs, to be used both for the wants of life and for purposes of purification; and, above all, for the requirements of the Temple-services, which were very considerable. I have no doubt that the most extensive works were commenced in David's reign, and carried still further in that of his son Solomon. These are yet in existence, and might even now be in operation, had they not fallen into the hands of an ignorant and almost barbarous race, who are perpetually endeavouring to destroy them, without ever thinking that they are thus aggravating the deficiency of water, and placing the town in danger of being entirely deprived of it, if at any time the rainfall is insufficient. The local government has several times con[Pg 246]sidered the mischief that may thus be caused, and has taken steps accordingly to prevent it; but, weak as it is, has never been able to make its orders respected. From this reproach, however, I except the provident rule of Surraya Pasha, which is now over.

According to my opinion, it was Solomon that ordered and executed the important work of bringing the water from Etham into Jerusalem by means of a conduit; which is indeed generally attributed to him, though it is called by a few that of Pontius Pilate. The primary design of this undertaking was unquestionably that the Temple and its precincts might not suffer from a lack of water. It is very remarkable that neither the Bible nor Josephus make express mention of this; but it is probable that all the pools, now existing at Etham, are referred to in Ecclesiastes[860]; and Josephus[861] informs us that the summer-palace of Solomon was at the town of Etham, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, fifty stadia from Jerusalem. Perhaps he did not describe the water-works, because he considered them well-known. However, it is certain that history does not afford us any positive *data* for ascribing these constructions to Solomon; but the magnitude of the work, and tradition, induce me to attribute them to him. As it was on these pools of Etham that the city mainly depended for its supply, I will describe them first of all.

Quitting the Jaffa Gate we take the direct road to Etham, passing the Tomb of Rachel, and leaving Bethlehem on the left; it is a ride of two hours and a half. Here is an old castle[862], called by the Arabs *Kalat el-Burak* (Castle of the Lightning), of which the outer walls, with battlements, remain perfect; but the interior is all in ruins, and only serves to harbour swarms of bees. History does not tell us when or by whom it was built, but from its architecture and masonry it must evidently be assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century; the design being, no doubt, to accommodate a small garrison in order to secure the waters. It is not improbable that the Crusaders erected it to prevent the hostile tribes from cutting off the water-supply from Jerusalem, which would have been liable to this deprivation without such a precaution. To the south are the three reservoirs, situated in the middle of the Etham Valley, which slopes steeply down from west to east. These are filled by the rain-water drained from the slopes of the mountains on each side, and by an abundant supply from a spring on the west of the castle, in a straight line along the direction of its north side, at a distance of about 450 yards. I mention this, because



its rudely circular opening, like the mouth of a cistern, is hidden in a field under a mass of stones thickly covered with creeping plants, and so is sometimes not easily found without a guide. Possibly this spring is mentioned in the Song of Solomon<sup>[863]</sup>, in the words, "A garden enclosed is my sister,[Pg 247] my spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed;" hence it is now called 'fons signatus' by the Christians, and *Ras el-Ain* (Head of the Fountain), and also *Ain Saleh* by the Arabs. Let us examine its interior by descending an inconvenient shaft, like those in cisterns; looking well where we set our feet, lest we come to the bottom in a single step, a depth of about 12 feet only, but a rough fall. On arriving below, we crawl a short distance, and then find ourselves in a rectangular chamber 18 feet long from north to south, 10 wide, and 20 high. The lower parts of the walls are formed of the great blocks characteristic of the era of Solomon; the upper contain some with rustic work in low relief, which diminishes towards the top of the vault, where the stones are dressed smooth and flat. Hence I consider that the chamber has been restored at different periods; an opinion confirmed by the barrel-vault formed of long oblong stones, skilfully laid with mortar. In the middle of the west wall is an opening leading into a narrow cave, at the western extremity of which a limpid, cool, and abundant spring issues from a natural channel in the rock, which cannot be followed up by reason of its narrowness and the breaks in its level. Where the water runs along the floor, we observe the remains of an ancient canal formed of hard cement, which still exhibits some fragments of earthenware pipes about ten inches in diameter. In the corners of this cave are two other crevices in the rock, from which issue small springs that unite with the former in the middle of the first chamber. In this there is a basin, originally intended to act as a filter, which is now out of repair, and receives the water on its way to the conduit running to the east. Owing to the injuries done by the hand of man, and the accumulation of extraneous substances, a large part of the stream escapes into the ground, and is lost. I have repeatedly visited this place at the various seasons of the year, and have found the fountain flowing most copiously in winter, but there is no deficiency in summer; so that if the reservoirs and conduits were properly kept up, Jerusalem would never be in want of spring-water, and the health and comfort of its inhabitants would be improved by the decrease of fevers, and the increase of cleanliness. The eastern conduit is mainly excavated in the solid rock, especially near its mouth; but the upper part, which is vaulted for the first 20 feet, is then covered with large slabs, as far as the south-west corner of the castle. At first it is 3 feet wide and 4 high, but it gradually becomes narrower and lower as it approaches this corner, and can therefore only be traversed for a distance of 86 feet, when the walls, hewn out of the rock, are replaced by others of masonry, although rock continues to form the bottom of the conduit. This aqueduct, running in a curve from the spring to the castle, empties part of its contents into a round basin, near the north-west corner of the first pool, whence it flows into the pool; so that there is usually water in this even in the height of summer, when the other two are generally dry. Before

proceeding to describe the course of the water, both from the round basin and in[Pg 248] other directions, I call attention to the three large reservoirs, which are mainly excavated in the rock, the eastern side alone of each being formed of solid masonry, built in steps externally to resist the pressure of the water. In these walls, and especially in their lower parts, very ancient Jewish work is seen, which may be assigned to the reign of Solomon; not the slightest trace of mortar is visible, and where the wall has been wantonly injured, pieces of iron appear with the holes in the stones for clamps. The walls are now faced with Arab cement (the last was put on in 1857 and 1860); but in places fragments of an ancient compost still remain, so compact and hard that it has withstood the injuries of twenty-nine centuries. The Plan shews the arrangement and dimensions of these reservoirs, and the Section their inclination and respective depths, so that I need not enter into particulars on these points, but only remark that the eastern end of each is connected with a subterranean chamber, wherein we can observe the various channels which have been used, according to circumstances, to augment the outflow of the stream from the upper to the lower reservoir. In these the original vaulting still remains, circular in form and constructed of blocks, built together without mortar; that belonging to the last pool on the east is the largest, from which the conduit starts which goes to the *castellum*[\[864\]](#), and thence to Jerusalem. We will now return to the first-mentioned conduit. I have already said that the aqueduct from the 'Sealed Fountain' discharges a portion of its waters into the round basin; another portion flows along a covered canal, visible on the surface, which runs along by the side of the three pools, supplying a fountain near the north-east corner of the first of them, and then emptying itself into the *castellum* just mentioned. In case of too great a quantity of water flowing into the round basin, and being forced back by the first pool becoming full, the overplus is not lost, but escapes through a third aperture into a subterranean chamber, on the west of the basin, and almost united to it, where it joins the stream coming from a very deep spring (not before mentioned), whence it is conducted by a subterranean canal (whether this is artificial or natural I have not been able to decide) to the *castellum* on the east of the lowest pool. This point I have proved by stopping up the supply of water from the other quarters; an experiment which was witnessed by M. de Barrère and M. E. Meshullam. Another spring also supplies the latter *castellum*, the stream from which, rising at a distance of about 750 feet, comes down the valley, and runs parallel to the east end of the lowest pool; this is called by the Arabs *Ain Atan*, and is the best water in Palestine, but is not very abundant, from the way in which the neighbourhood of the source has been cleared of trees. The above-named fountains are not all of those which formerly supported the gardens of Solomon and Jerusalem; two conduits from the south[Pg 249] increased the supply; one of which came from the neighbourhood of Hebron (to the south of the village of *Halhul*), and flowed into the lowest pool: another, from the mountains near Etham, emptied itself into the first pool. The whole course of these conduits can be traced; but it is sad to see them becoming

more and more ruinous every year, when, with little trouble and expense, they could be sufficiently repaired to be of immense benefit to the places through which they run. In case the three pools became full, and the great influx into the lower *castellum* produced a flood, the water escaped by a canal, following the course of the valley, and flowed into two pools, at some distance apart, smaller than those above: there, no doubt, it was kept to irrigate the gardens below, which may be identified with the 'garden inclosed[865]' of Solomon. The important remains of buildings and pools which M. Meshullam has discovered and laid open, while bringing (most successfully) the ground under cultivation, are proofs of this point. The shape of the lower pools and the materials employed in them shew that they are of the same age as the upper. It is impossible to suppose that these can be the work of any of the conquerors of Palestine, for none of them would have undertaken a work of such magnitude, especially as their mission has always been rather to destroy than to build; neither can we attribute them to Herod, on account of the silence of Josephus, who mentions all his chief works; so that we naturally assign them to the epoch of Solomon. The ability of the engineer who constructed these works is shewn even more in the aqueduct than in the pools, as it falls and rises, winding through valleys and hills on its way from the *castellum*, until, after a course of about 40,000 feet, it empties itself into the great reservoir in the Valley of Gihon, not far from, and on the north of, the *Birket es-Sultan* (the ancient Lower Pool), where its waters were allowed to settle. Here the aqueduct was formerly divided into two branches, whereof the one flowed into the pool below, and the other, after crossing the valley, still rises up the side of Sion, and having skirted the eastern slopes above the Tyropœon valley, crosses it and enters Moriah, as I have already described[866]. The whole course of this aqueduct still remains, and we can observe that a large portion of it is hewn in the rock, and covered up with large slabs, while in other parts it is formed of earthenware pipes eight inches in diameter, which are skilfully laid with strong cement between stones cut in a proper shape, and protected above with solid masonry. The various Arab restorations, at different periods, have considerably modified the form of the aqueduct, but nevertheless enough remains to enable us to study its construction. Josephus[867] mentions that Pilate spent the sacred treasure upon an aqueduct, and some have understood from this that he constructed the one of which we speak. I cannot however suppose that the Governor of a province would have been able to carry out[Pg 250] a work of such magnitude; and had it been done, the memory of it would have been preserved by tradition. Josephus, indeed, speaks of the length of the work as 400 stadia, but this, I think, must be a mistake in the manuscripts; 40 would be nearer to the proper amount. The Talmud[868] states that the aqueduct bringing the water into Moriah emptied itself into the 'sea of bronze,' and that the spring from which it was supplied was 23 cubits higher than the pavement of the Temple. This is the actual height of the 'fountain inclosed;' and this aqueduct does communicate, as we have shewn, with the supposed site of the 'sea.' The aqueduct has been restored at various

times, since history informs us that Cathuba, Sultan of Egypt, expended large sums in bringing the waters from the vicinity of Hebron to the three pools at Etham; and in the thirteenth century, Sultan Mohammed Ibn-Kelaoun repaired the ancient works of Solomon to convey the water into Moriah, which had been diverted when Saladin broke down the aqueduct, in order to cut off the supply from the Crusaders[869]. The Mohammedan chronicles relate that Solyman the Magnificent went to great expense in restoring it. At a later period, under the government of Kiamil Pasha and Surraya Pasha, in 1856 and in 1860, the waters of Etham were brought into Jerusalem, on which occasion I co-operated with the Turkish engineer, Assad Effendi; but these last repairs have not been permanent, because the *fellahîn* divert the water for their private purposes, and those whose duty it is to guard the aqueduct are bribed to blindness by a present of a lamb or some money. Until the Governor adopts rigorous measures, the water will be used by the herdsmen, and will not reach the city.

I will now briefly indicate the advantages that the waters of Etham must have produced when they supplied Jerusalem. (1) They filled *Birket es-Sultan*, or the lower pool, at the southern end of the Valley of Gihon, then irrigated the gardens and fields in the Valley of Hinnom, and afterwards flowed into the Kidron, augmenting its volume and aiding in sweeping away the sewage from the Temple. I have found at certain places in the Valley of Hinnom remains of ancient walls, which I consider to have belonged to pools formed there to keep the water until it was wanted for the neighbouring fields. (2) When the water arrived at the western extremity of the bridge across the Tyropœon, a branch conduit, as I believe, carried a portion of it northward to supply the different fountains, which still exist in the valley, and also to aid in filling the Pool of Bethesda; which however was also supplied by the conduit from the northern valley, and by others from the pool outside S. Mary's Gate, which was filled from the ditch on the north-east outside the city. Hence it appears that the lower city was well provided with water. The works which I have hitherto described could still be restored with the greatest ease,[Pg 251] if the Government chose to expend £7200 in repairing them in different places, and to organize an effective police to guard the aqueduct from injury by any chance comer; a thing at present impossible, owing to the venality of the officials of the Government, and the barbarism of the Arabs. The former, however, is the more insurmountable evil. In 1860 I proposed a plan to Surraya Pasha for securing the water-supply from Etham, and shewed how the expenditure might be repaid by a rate on Jerusalem and Bethlehem (which is on the course of the conduit, and receives benefit from it); this rate would be a positive gain to the inhabitants of the former place, as it would save them from the capricious and exaggerated demands of those who bring water into the city, when the cisterns have failed in a season of drought. He at once perceived the advantages of my plan, but was unable to carry it into effect, as he could not secure the necessary co-operation.



A short time since a European engineer proposed to bring the water from Etham to Jerusalem by cast-iron pipes, which were to start from the Tomb of Rachel, on the Bethlehem road, about four miles from Jerusalem, and bring it up to the summit of the tower, which I call Phasaëlus, in the Castle of David, from which the central valley was to be supplied. I am convinced that this plan is impracticable in Palestine, not only from the great expense, but also because the Government could never consent to turn into water-works a place which would be their chief stronghold in case of an insurrection of the Bedouins or *fellahîn*; besides, the pipes themselves would be eagerly sought after as booty. If it has not been, and is not possible to restore that which now exists, how can anything new be done? Circumstances will alter, and then we may hope that Palestine will advance as Europe is doing; but the good time has not yet come, and still seems to be far distant.

Etham was not the only place that supplied Jerusalem with water; for some came from the west, from the Upper Pool of Gihon (the present *Birket Mamillah*[\[870\]](#)). From the words of the Bible[\[871\]](#) we should expect that a fountain was in its neighbourhood; but as the ground near is now converted into a Mohammedan cemetery, it is impossible to make any excavations, and I must therefore content myself with explaining what can be seen above ground. The Pool *Mamillah* has been excavated in the rock; by whom history does not tell us, but it is certainly older than the time of Hezekiah, for Isaiah met Ahaz 'at the end of the conduit of the upper pool[\[872\]](#),' on the occasion of the prophecy, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son.' This pool occupies a favourable position for collecting the water that drains from the slopes of the neighbouring hills in a rainy season. It formerly supplied not only the Pool Amygdalon in the city (as it still does), but also the lower pool in the valley or *Birket es-Sultan*.[\[Pg 252\]](#) Finding the Pool *Mamillah* dry in the summer-season, I made a careful examination of it, especially on the western side, to see if I could find any mouths of conduits, but could not discover the slightest trace; so that if there ever were any, they have entirely disappeared under the various restorations that the place has undergone. At the present time its waters are unfit to drink owing to the surrounding cemeteries; but this would not render them less useful to the city, if the pool were put in order so as to prevent the waters from being absorbed by the rubbish which thickly covers the bottom, and from escaping through the crevices in the sides, now unstopped with cement, and if the conduit were properly repaired and protected. Were all these works in good condition, the pool would be filled at the time of the rains, and would supply the Pool Amygdalon[\[873\]](#); and in that case the two would annually furnish the water required by the bath in the Christian bazaar, and its proprietors be able to make money by selling what they did not require to the builders. It is surprising that the Arabs do not see the advantages that they would gain, especially as the cost of the repairs would not be more than £600.

In my opinion these two pools and their conduit answer to the descriptions given us in various passages of the Bible. We read[\[874\]](#) that when the officers of the king of Assyria arrived with a great host from Lachish, "they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field." Their army must have encamped on the west, and extended as far as the present site of the Latin Convent of S. Saviour, as the position was commanding and well suited for marshalling troops before an attack, and the walls were unprotected by any natural defences. Again, we find[\[875\]](#) that during the conference between the general of Sennacherib and the chief men in Jerusalem, they were within hearing of the men on the wall. So when Sennacherib menaced Jerusalem, Hezekiah[\[876\]](#) "stopped the waters of the fountains which were without the city; repaired Millo in the city of David (the present Amygdalon), and stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." This I understand to mean that Hezekiah wished to deprive the enemy of water, and so enclosed Amygdalon with a wall on the west and north, thus bringing it inside the city, and at the same time constructed the existing conduit to divert the waters from the upper pool and leave it dry. These works must have been executed in haste, and I cannot conceive it possible that they could have been carried into effect in any other part of the environs of Jerusalem, as it would have been a colossal labour to bring a conduit to the western side of the City of David in any other direction, for the hills must have been pierced. It would also have been unnecessary, as the only purpose[\[Pg 253\]](#) was to conduct the water from the upper pool to that within the city. Josephus[\[877\]](#) in speaking of the gate by which the water came into the tower Hippicus, indicates the existence of another conduit. This I suppose to have been a branch of that of Hezekiah. When the foundations of the English church were dug, the remains of a conduit were discovered, which seems to shew that this was the site of one of Herod's palaces, probably that called the Cæsareum. It has been thought that this conduit went as far as Moriah, but I believe that I have found its mouth in the street of David, 'in the going down to Silla[\[878\]](#),' close to the Greek convent of S. John on the south, and that it was a sewer.

At the end of the Valley of Siloam is another means of providing for the wants of the city in the matter of water; that is the well *Bir Eyub*, the ancient En-rogel, the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin[\[879\]](#). It is situated in a deep narrow cleft of the valley, with precipitous mountains on every side; and formerly furnished water to Jerusalem, as it still continues to do, the inhabitants of Siloam driving a brisk trade during the summer droughts. I have already mentioned this well[\[880\]](#), and now proceed to give a more detailed account of it. In the month of October, 1858, *Bir Eyub* was perfectly dry, and I availed myself of this event, unfortunate for Jerusalem, to descend into it. I reached the bottom, covered with fine sand, and there was able to examine a small cavity in the rock on the west, mentioned by Mejir ed-Din, from which the water flows in the rainy season. It was

then completely dry, but I think that a spring formerly issued from it. I believe that the well (108 feet deep) is a cavity naturally worn by the constant flow of the water, but that it has afterwards been dressed with a chisel. It is now rectangular in plan, and gradually diminishes from the top to the bottom; the side walls are formed of large blocks in the lower part; as we ascend their size decreases; small holes occur among these at intervals, through which the rock can be seen, and the water runs into the well[881]. The stones recede, one behind the other, as we ascend, and they are perfectly united without any apparent trace of mortar, and must be bolted together with iron clamps or stone tenons to have enabled them to stand firm during so many centuries, and yet to seem likely to stand for many more. I have no doubt that the masonry is of the highest antiquity. The well is supplied by the rains which, sinking into the surrounding mountainous country, descend naturally to this vault at the lowest level. I have convinced myself of this by careful observation at the rainy seasons, and have ascertained that the well did not begin to fill until the rain had fallen for several days, and that the level of the water was not affected, unless the rain was heavy and continuous. I also found that the well[Pg 254] did not overflow into the Kidron, unless this rain lasted for several days, and that it ceased when the fine weather returned, and a dry wind sprang up. In 1861 the rain was so heavy that the overflow lasted for fifteen days, but during this time there was very little sunshine in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The above explanation will, I trust, be satisfactory to all, except the Arabs, who account for the wonder in the following manner[882]: "We all know that the *Haram es-Sherîf* is constantly guarded by sixty thousand angels. Now, by a decree of Heaven, while the heavenly host watch in prayer around the sacred rock (*es-Sakharah*), an equal number of evil spirits groan in the depths of the mountain, condemned to support upon their accursed foreheads the weight of the holy edifice, and of the vast plateau that encircles it. The weight is terrible, but the following circumstance is marvellous. Every time that a faithful Mohammedan, after due purification, places his foot upon the ground of the *Haram*, the weight of his body increases the burden borne by the demons seventy-fold. If the devotees are numerous, if they frequently go to implore the divine mercy in that favoured spot, the sufferings of the fiends are proportionately increased; they burst into tears of grief and rage. The more ardent is the zeal of the believers, the fuller is the reservoir, wherein, drop by drop, the tears of the enemies of God are collected. Hence the abundance or the deficiency of the water in *Bir Eyub* measures the bounty of the Creator to His creatures. It only depends then on our own prayers to have good harvests, and when drought comes, we ought to accuse ourselves of a lack of devotion." M. Saintine thinks that this account, when stripped of its marvels, denotes that all the water-courses in the city flow into the lower part of the *Haram es-Sherîf*, and thence are conducted by a conduit into this well. This I cannot admit, because the waters running down the western bank of the Tyropœon follow the course of that valley, and those which fall on the eastern are caught by the reservoirs constructed for that purpose, and the small quantity that escapes, falls, as

I have already stated [\[883\]](#), into the Kidron Valley, opposite to the Tomb of Absalom.

Let us now pass on to consider the Fountain of the Virgin, the only useful spring in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, of which I have already given an account [\[884\]](#), as well as of the upper pool of Siloam, which is supplied by the Fountain; but I have not yet described the phenomenon of its intermittence, the quality of its water, and the conduit connecting the two places. S. Jerome, as I have already observed, and the historians of the Crusades, noticed that the flow of the water was not regular, so that the occurrence is by no means novel. Dr Robinson [\[885\]](#) gives the following account of it: "As we were preparing to measure the basin of the [\[Pg 255\]](#) upper fountain and explore the passage leading from it, my companion was standing on the lower step near the water, with one foot on the step and the other on a loose stone lying in the basin. All at once he perceived the water coming into his shoe; and supposing the stone had rolled, he withdrew his foot to the step; which however was also now covered with water. This instantly excited our curiosity; and we now perceived the water rapidly bubbling up from under the lower step. In less than five minutes it had risen in the basin nearly or quite a foot; and we could hear it gurgling off through the interior passage. In ten minutes more it had ceased to flow; and the water in the basin was again reduced to its former level." I have repeatedly observed the same thing, and for some time was unable to explain it, and therefore questioned the villagers of Siloam, and so learnt, from the more ignorant, the story of the dragon, and from the wiser, that the spring had a flux and reflux like the sea; and they were prepared to instruct me on its periodicity. How I at last discovered the true cause I will relate in speaking of the *Hammam es-Shefa*. Meanwhile I only mention, as an unquestionable fact, that the phenomenon undoubtedly occurs both in the rainy and dry seasons, but that the supply is greater in the former than in the latter.

The water from the fountain flows into the upper pool of Siloam by means of a subterranean conduit, which follows a winding course in the rock, instead of going directly from north to south. In some places it is not more than 2-1/4 feet high; in others 4 or even 5 feet; and in some parts it is still higher, especially towards the Pool of Siloam. Its width in general is about three feet, but near the southern mouth it increases up to four. It has been hewn out of the rock in a very rude manner, so that I am disposed to attribute it to the age of Solomon; especially as it has been made to convey the water of the Fountain to a place where it was more accessible to the inhabitants of the city, and could be collected in the large reservoirs from which the gardens below, the King's Gardens, were irrigated. In the 17th century a monk, by name Julius, explored the whole of the dark damp passage. After him the Abbé Desmazures, then an Englishman named Hyde, and Drs Robinson and Smith, and also Tobler. I have traversed it several times, the last occasion being in the month of February 1861; but I cannot advise any one to follow my example, as the



constant ruin continually increases the difficulty of the undertaking, and there is always danger of the earth falling in at any moment. This conduit explains why the intermittence is observed in Siloam. The general belief in the country is that the source springs from the lower cavities in Mount Moriah (as the river of Ezekiel's vision[886]). I am of the same opinion, but must reserve this point also for my description of the *Hammam es-Shefa*. The water of the Foun[Pg 256]tain is limpid and slightly brackish; it contains lime, magnesia, and sulphuric acid: its specific gravity is 1.0035: its temperature is usually from 61.25° to 65.75° Fahrenheit. It is only drunk by the inhabitants of Jerusalem when the supplies in their cisterns fail; however, the peasants of Siloam use it for all purposes. Still it is always a boon to the citizens, as it irrigates the gardens of Siloam, which are rendered wonderfully fruitful, besides supplying the tanners and washerwomen, and cattle of all kinds.

I have already identified the Lower Pool of Siloam with the Pool of Solomon, and stated that it now receives the sewage of the city; but it must have been filled from the Upper Pool, and used to regulate the supplies to the gardens, and increase the volume of the stream of the Kidron.

In the neighbourhood of the city, on the north and north-west, remains of conduits are found, by which perhaps water was brought into the city, but I have not been able to discover whence the supply came; and there are, besides, some reservoirs and cisterns, none of which date from a remote period. The most important work, as regards its size, is the pool at the head of the Kidron valley, which I believe to have been constructed solely to collect and preserve the waters for the wants of those who dwelt in the neighbourhood, and to prevent the streams, flowing from the adjoining hill-sides, from being absorbed in the ground. At one time I thought that a subterranean conduit took the water from the pool into the city; but after the most careful examination of the ground in the vicinity, I am able to declare that no such conduit exists. The reasons which have led me to this conclusion will appear in the following account of my investigations. The people of the country had informed me that at night, when the city was perfectly quiet, the noise of flowing water could be heard beneath the Damascus Gate by any one who placed his ear on the ground. I made the experiment several times, and found it to be the case. When I excavated the ancient North Gate (in the foundations of the present Damascus Gate), as I have already described in the second chapter[887], I descended into the cisterns just on the north of the gate, and repeated the experiment at the bottom of them, and here I perceived more distinctly the gurgling of water, which was still more audible after Said Pasha, Commandant of the garrison of Jerusalem, had emptied these two cisterns of the rubbish that encumbered them. It must also be observed that the noise is heard louder after rain than at other times. This, therefore, led me to believe that there was a conduit which transported the water into the city, and consequently I many times made careful investigations in the tract of land between the Kidron Pool and the Damascus Gate; but these all failed in producing the desired result;



and after levelling the ground, penetrating into cisterns, and removing ruins, I came to the[Pg 257] conclusion that its existence was impossible; for, if it had been constructed, it must have run at a great depth underground, and been wholly excavated in the rock. A work of this kind, especially for such a distance, would have been too much for Jewish science; for all the other conduits in Palestine which can be assigned to an early period, if not covered with long slabs, as is common, are not much below the level of the ground, so that there are apertures at intervals to give them light. Nor is this the only reason against the existence of a conduit; for in examining the sewer in the Tyropœon valley inside the city, near the Damascus Gate, I obtained permission from the Pasha, when it was repaired, to deepen the excavation, and found no trace of a water-course in the place where it would naturally have run; unless indeed we suppose it to have been made at a greater depth in the rock itself, or to have crossed Bezetha, and come to an end either in Moriah or close to it on the north-west. Consequently I conclude that the gurgling heard at the Damascus Gate proceeds from the sewers in its neighbourhood, which descend from Gareb and Bezetha and unite in the Tyropœon valley.

I terminate the examination of the waters outside the city by observing that the Pilgrim's Pool[888], on the north (which I have already noticed), is insufficiently supplied from the little valley above it, and anciently discharged its waters into the Pool of Bethesda. I also mention again the water dropping from the rock inside the Royal Caverns, which some, who have only seen it in the rainy season and not in the summer when it is dried up, consider to be a spring. I do not think that these two sources contributed greatly in former time to augment the supply of water to the city.

Before the 12th of June, 1860, no other spring was known in Jerusalem than that which rises at the bottom of the well of the *Hammam es-Shefa*. With regard to this there have been many enquiries as to whence its waters come, by what way they enter Moriah, and whither they go. At the time just mentioned, I discovered the spring on the property of the Daughters of Sion, as I have already described[889]; but about two years previously, in the month of July, I had been called in to examine some water which appeared near Herod's Gate, when the foundations were dug for a large building belonging to Mustafa Bey, which now bears his name. Having premised this, I will state the conclusions at which I have arrived from my investigations at the three places just mentioned, and also give my explanation of the phenomenon of the intermittence of the water in the Fountain of the Virgin.

In the foundation, on the south side of Mustafa Bey's house, at a depth of 22 feet, a quantity of water had appeared during the night and filled the hole. The master-mason and the owner, the sole architects, believed that it had filtered through from[Pg 258] some cistern in the neighbourhood, and therefore set to work to bale it out. When this was done they were very much surprised to see that a thin stream

of water, coming from the north-west, continued to fill the place; they therefore deepened the excavation a little, and widened the opening, but they were unable to account for the abundance of the water, which hindered their work. On arriving at the spot I suggested excavating, but the fear of the increased expenditure kept them from agreeing to this; so that, under the circumstances, I had no other means of ascertaining anything, than examining a number of cisterns which were in the neighbourhood; and after tasting the water in them, and comparing it with that in the hole, I found that the latter was of the same quality as that in the *Hammam es-Shefa* and the Fountain of the Virgin; and then I began to believe that it came from a spring. The owner of the place consented to suspend the works in this part for eight days, but I could not prevail on him to permit me to make any excavation near the place on the north-west; and during this time the water flowed through a canal which I had constructed for it. After building two massive piers on each side of the stream and turning a strong arch over it, the works proceeded; so that the stream ran away to the south, without our having found a solution of the problem; but I have no doubt that careful investigation would have revealed the spring-head close by on the north-west.

The discovery of June 12th, and the identity in taste and colour between the water then found and that of which I have spoken, caused me to examine the part of the city between the two points; and though the Arab houses in this district caused many difficulties, I succeeded in ascertaining that in this direction there were cisterns, into which water found its way, similar to that at the spring, and consequently not fit for all the purposes of life. From this I concluded that the two springs must be connected, and the upper supply the lower. But still there was the question, what became of all the water which issued from the spring at the Convent of the Daughters of Sion? At the first moment I was disposed to think that it flowed into the subterranean gallery, in the direction of the north-west corner of the *Haram es-Sherîf*; but my observations have brought me to the conclusion that it goes into the well of the *Hammam es-Shefa*, as I will now shew.

The stream flowed naturally to the south, therefore I carefully probed all the western wall on the inside of the gallery to see if the water passed along by it; but I found no signs, and so perceived that the conduit from the spring had turned away in another direction. Though the gallery was almost free from water in August, and quite dry in September and October, the stream still flowed abundantly; so that had it run along the gallery, it could not have escaped my observation. Still it might have been objected, that possibly the stream was absorbed and its course concealed by the earth at the bottom of the gallery, so I dammed up the waters until a kind of [Pg 259] pool was formed, and then set them free on a sudden; but not a drop appeared in the gallery; so that I thought that they must go into the *Hammam es-Shefa*. I consider the water in this well to be the same as that which supplies the Fountain of the Virgin, for the following reasons. The quality of the water is the

same; and though that in the well is rather turbid and that in the Fountain is clear, I attribute this solely to the presence of rubbish in the well, the waters of which are afterwards filtered during their course. The water in the well has for a long time supplied a bath built over it, as it still does. Traditions point it out as ancient, and the Talmud[890] appears to confirm them, saying, that "the well was excavated by the children of the captivity, and the priests drew water from it by means of a pulley." We may therefore suppose that the Jews used to purify themselves here, before entering the Temple, as the Mohammedans still do on their festival days, before they go into the *Haram es-Sherîf*. This bath is the cause of the intermittence of the stream in the Fountain of the Virgin, for at certain periods of the day its keepers use the water for the purposes of the establishment, and consequently not only prevent it from rising high enough to reach the level of the conduit carrying it off to the Kidron Valley, but also empty the well, so that it requires some time to fill again. As this is done twice in every twenty-four hours, the phenomenon of intermittence occurs just as often. This I have proved by repeated observations and trials, and I recommend any one who seeks for a more marvellous cause to follow my example. The quantity of water in the well is hardly affected by the rains. The dirty water from the bath is carried by a conduit into the sewer in the Tyropœon valley, and aids in transporting the filth therein outside the city.

Let us now devote a few lines to the pools inside the city, which I have already mentioned. Near the Jaffa Gate, on the north, is a small pool, which many have supposed to be the one in which Bathsheba was bathing when she was seen by David[891]; but I believe the desire of assigning a legend to every spot to be the sole authority for the tradition. I have not been able to examine this reservoir, but the Greeks, to whom it belongs, and who have filled it with earth to prevent its becoming a receptacle of filth, have, with many other of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, assured me that it was very narrow, and that the workmanship in it did not correspond with that of the Jewish era, but with that of Saladin or Solyman; also that it had no connexion with the other ancient water-works.

With regard to the Pool Amygdalon, so often mentioned, I have to remark that many of the cisterns, excavated in the upper city, are filled from it, among which I may especially denote that which commonly bears S. Helena's name, near the north-east corner of the Church of the Resurrection. On this point there cannot be[Pg 260] any doubt, since before the Coptic hospice was erected on the northern side of Amygdalon, a large conduit was visible near its north-east corner, which had been observed by several of the older masons. Besides this, the waters of the pool were certainly directed into the different sewers in the upper city in order to cleanse them; as we may still see in part, for the water which has been used for the bath, is conveyed by a conduit into the sewer in the street of David.

The Cistern of S. Helena has, as I believe, been sometimes called the Cistern of Golgotha, and it has been said that anything light cast into it appeared again in Siloam. I do not believe that this was the case, but if the identification be correct, it might occur in the following manner; that if the water in the cistern rose above a certain height it might escape by a waste pipe, on the south-east of the cistern, into the central sewer in the Tyropœon, and thus, when there was a large surplus of water, might easily descend to Siloam, bearing any floating substance along with it. There are many other cisterns in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre which I have examined, but these do not help me to an explanation of the matter, as their waste pipes are but small.

I return to the Pool of Bethesda[\[892\]](#), to direct attention to the Herodian masonry, which was certainly either built or repaired at the erection of the Antonia. The stones which rest on the levelled rock are perfectly united together in the following way: on the outer surface of one stone is a rectangular mortise, into which fits a corresponding tenon, left projecting from a stone with all its faces regularly squared, and of somewhat smaller size than the first mentioned. Thus, when a row[\[893\]](#) was finished the outer stones were about two inches apart, and so the whole wall resembled a chess-board, all the squares being separated by channels running horizontally and vertically. These intervals were filled with very strong masonry; and in order that the water might not possibly find its way through the joinings of the inner stones, after the surface was thus made level, the whole was covered with a strong cement. The position of the pool shews that it was not only formed for the service of the Temple, but also for its defence. This work, which could so easily be made again fit for use, is, on the contrary, rapidly falling to ruin, being utterly neglected, like all the other works of antiquity.

There were some other pools inside the city—for example one, where the barrack of the *Haram*[\[894\]](#) now stands; another, on the south of the property of the Armenian Convent, which I myself have examined; but of these every trace has now disappeared; and I only mention them to shew how much better the city was supplied with water in former times by means of proper contrivances.

I have already explained[\[895\]](#) how the inhabitants now provide themselves with water,[\[Pg 261\]](#) and will only add that, of the 992 cisterns in Jerusalem and its vicinity, the greater number are ancient, and are excavated in the rock. In them the water would keep excellently, if proper attention were paid to them, so that the city would never fall short; but they too are neglected; and consequently there is in many years a want of water, a great quantity of which is either absorbed by the ground and lost, or runs into the sewers, which are in even worse repair, and, or lastly, floods the streets, to the inconvenience of passengers, and the injury of the public health.

I conclude by remarking that, although Jerusalem is situated in a position where limestone rocks abound, and where springs of drinkable water are not to be found, (there being but one which could be used, even in extremity,) the city has never suffered from thirst in all the numerous sieges which it has undergone. The besiegers, however, have almost always been reduced to great straits from this cause; for example, the armies of Pompeius, of Antiochus Eupator, and of the Crusaders. Josephus, indeed, says that the Roman troops under Titus did not want water, but this is in a speech addressed to his fellow-citizens, when he is exhorting them to submit in order to avoid a more miserable fate; and he brings forward this unwonted circumstance as a sign that heaven had abandoned them, just as had happened when the city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. Still great distress, according to Dio Cassius[896], did prevail among the Roman army. The inhabitants, however, never felt any such want; their miseries always arose from hunger; and William of Tyre[897] expressly states that when the army of Godfrey of Bouillon entered Jerusalem they found plenty of water. From the earliest period the supply appears to have been well maintained; and it is to be hoped that some person or other will before long restore the city to its former condition; and by repairing the ancient water-works render it no longer dependent on the rains. Woe betide Jerusalem if showers should fail during two years in succession!

## FOOTNOTES:

[860] [Eccl. ii. 4, 6.](#)

[861] [Ant. VIII. 7, § 3.](#)

[862] Plate X.

[863] [Cant. iv. 12.](#)

[864] The reservoirs constructed at certain points along the course of an aqueduct to regulate the supply of water.

[865] [Cant. iv. 12.](#)

[866] [Page 100.](#)

[867] [Ant. XVIII. 3, § 2;](#) [Jewish War, II. 9, § 4.](#)

[868] [Joma, fol. 31. 1.](#)

[869] [Greg. Abulpharagii seu Barhebræi Chronicum Syriacum](#), ed. G. G. Kirsch. Lips. 1789. 2 Vols. 4to.

[870] Plate LXII.



[871] [2 Chron. xxxii. 30.](#)

[872] [Isai. vii. 3.](#)

[873] [Plate XXXI.](#)

[874] [2 Kings xviii. 17.](#)

[875] [2 Kings xviii. 18, 26, 28.](#)

[876] [2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 5, 30.](#)

[877] [Jewish War, V. 7, § 3.](#)

[878] [2 Kings xii. 20.](#)

[879] [Josh. xv. 7; Plate XLVIII.](#)

[880] [Page 188.](#)

[881] [Plate X.](#)

[882] I avail myself of the words of M. Saintine (Trois ans en Judée, p. 132), as I was in his company when an old Sheikh told us the story.

[883] [Page 92.](#)

[884] [Page 184.](#)

[885] [Biblical Researches, Vol. I. p. 506 \(1st ed.\).](#)

[886] [Ezek. xlvii.](#)

[887] [Page 36.](#)

[888] [Page 14.](#)

[889] [Page 63.](#)

[890] [Gloss. in Mishnajoth in Octav. in Midd. Perek. 5.](#)

[891] [2 Sam. xi. 2-4.](#)

[892] [Plate XVI.](#)

[893] [See Plate X. fig. 6.](#)

[894] [Jewish War, V. 11, § 4.](#)

[Pg 262]

## CHAPTER IX.

### GENERAL REMARKS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.

In the previous chapters I have put forward the results of my researches upon the topography, antiquities, and principal edifices of Jerusalem. I now proceed to give a general idea of those things which a person intending to reside there, or even to visit it, would wish to know; and I commence by giving some information which may be useful to the traveller. Jaffa is the seaport at which most persons, who intend to visit Jerusalem, land. The distance between the two places is about 28-1/2 miles. The mournful aspect of the former city generally drives away visitors after they have made a short stay and hastily traversed a few filthy streets; but those who wish to spend a longer time and carefully examine the antiquities of the place, or repose after their voyage, will find two tolerably comfortable hotels. Besides these, the Latin convent of the Franciscans entertains gratuitously all who apply without regard to their religious opinions. Nor do the Greeks and Armenians refuse to receive strangers, though they are established especially for the members of their own communities. An inn or the Latin convent is most convenient for a European. Consular agents of different nations reside in the town, and shew the greatest courtesy and attention to travellers; and through their dragomans or *cavas* (consular guards), or through the servants of the convent, one can obtain horses without fear of being cheated. A three hours' ride along an excellent road takes the traveller to Ramleh, a town without any inns; but where he can pass the night in either the Latin, Greek, or Armenian convents, and on the morrow pursue his course with the same horse to Jerusalem, where he will arrive after a journey of eight or nine hours. I do not mention the price of the bridle, saddle, and other necessaries of the journey, as these vary with time and circumstances.[Pg 263]

In Jerusalem there are two inns kept by honest people; those, however, who prefer availing themselves of the hospitality of the convents can do so; but should of course make an offering before leaving, according to their circumstances. This, however, is never demanded; nor will the person who does not choose, or is unable to present it, be the less kindly treated on that account. From the instant of his

arrival the traveller is pestered with interpreters and *ciceroni*. These it is imprudent to engage without previous enquiries at their Consulate, or from the Head of the religious community to which they belong; so too with those who offer themselves to take charge of a caravan, or act as escorts on journeys to the Jordan or Dead Sea, or other parts of Palestine. The bargain should be struck with responsible chiefs alone, at the Consulate, and all the conditions of the engagement should be clearly stated in writing, so that no disputes may afterwards arise. Persons who let out horses are not slow to offer themselves; but I recommend the traveller to make good use of his judgment before hiring a horse for a long period. After carefully examining it and its harness, it is necessary to put down on paper all the terms of the agreement, in the presence of two witnesses, to avoid having constant recourse to the Consul's office. Generally, however, oral evidence is more esteemed in the East than documentary, because the sense of words in a writing can be easily altered.

In case the traveller wishes to change money, let him beware of the petty money-changers in the bazaars, and go to the banks recommended by his Consul, or by the Head of his religious community. In buying anything from Arab dealers, unless accompanied by an honest guide, the stranger is always liable to be cheated, and to pay double the proper value, because it is usual for his conductor to receive a percentage on what his master spends. Most of all, distrust the itinerant dealers who call at private houses, or who are found in the lobbies of convents, hospices, and inns, or in the court before the Church of the Resurrection.

Any one who wishes to make a long stay at Jerusalem, and to hire a house, should not treat with a *factotum*, but with some person in whom he can place confidence. He will then get what he requires much more cheaply. Before signing the contract he should ascertain the state of the cisterns and their contents, the conduits, and the offices, unless he wishes to find himself without water, or with leaky drains that will make his house smell like a sewer. Let him also beware of foes, that lie hid by day, but issue forth by night to murder sleep. Take care that all defects observed in the scrutiny are at once repaired, for as soon as the rent is paid, the proprietor will hold himself free to do nothing, and will find a thousand pretexts to save himself from spending a farthing, even though he be ordered to do it by the authorities. The terrace-roofs are always in bad repair, so they must not be forgotten. Let not a mistaken notion of economy induce[Pg 264] the visitor to take an old house; for in that case it is necessary to be always erecting barriers against the rats and snakes, which the Arabs call the friends of the house, and many other invaders. No one should hire a servant without a character from a person of credit; and constant watchfulness is necessary, especially when the domestics have the purchase of provisions in their own hands: adulterated goods of all kinds are common enough in Palestine, even to the refinement of black stones in sacks of coal, and pebbles in soap. In a word, keep your eyes wide open, for the Arab is omnivorous, and steals

slowly, but steadily. Weights and measures are not wanting in native shops, but such weights and measures! Every dealer has a double set, and uses the just or the unjust according to circumstances. The government officers appointed for this purpose do not fail to visit the shops (politely giving notice of their intention beforehand), and of course everything is then in order. Now and then a victim is necessary, and the offence is denounced; but before the offender is put in prison, it is made out to be a mistake on the part of the police-officer, who is excused on the score of excess of zeal. These things continually happen, and the evil is irreparable. With the European dealers there is no danger of being cheated.

The butchers are great rogues, and cheat in every possible way. The tariffs sanctioned by the Government are not observed, and whoever wants good meat must pay the butcher's price. Only those who are in authority, and can make their complaints heard, are supplied according to the tariff. The rest of the people suffer, and can get no redress from the badly-paid subordinates of the Government, who are bribed to be blind and deaf; and not unfrequently the complainant, if unprotected by one of the Consuls, is maltreated by the vendors and the vigilant guardians of the peace.

The shops kept by Europeans are so well provided with the products of that continent, that the stranger might easily forget that he was in Palestine. Food and liquors of various kinds, clothes, and other necessities, come from England, Marseilles, and Trieste, and from many parts of the East; so that any one of moderate means may supply his wants sufficiently, but simply; and without these he can live on the produce of the country at a cheap rate.

Vegetables are scarce and dear, but annual supplies, in a preserved state, are sent from France. Beef and veal are seldom offered for sale, and are not good. There is plenty of mutton, sheep and goat, and sometimes of camel flesh; but the last two, with the inferior kinds of the former, are only bought by the poor. The European also finds pork, wild boar, hares and gazelles. Fowls, turkeys, ducks, and pigeons, are plentiful in the market, which is sometimes supplied with partridges and other game, and with fresh fish from Jaffa. Eggs and milk are plentiful; cheese and butter are imported, only because the peasants do not know how to make them,[Pg 265] and will not take the trouble to learn. Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, cucumbers, melons, figs, almonds, and grapes, are very abundant; dates and bananas, the produce of the country, are less plentiful. There are also peaches, apricots, plums, pears, and apples, and many other fruits too numerous to mention. The wines of the country are made at Hebron, Bethlehem, and S. John: these are very good, but rather strong; and as they are insufficient for the wants of the place, and those of France are very dear, Cyprus wine is much used. The bread during the last few years has become pretty good, and that made by the Jews is very fair, and would be still better if they had proper mills to grind the wheat; those worked by horses and

asses and by the hand all belong to private owners. A single windmill, erected by Sir M. Montefiore, has greatly improved the quality of the bread. The grain of the country, when properly ground and prepared, makes excellent bread; but many European families use flour imported from Trieste, which is very good. The Arab bread, on which most of the people live, is abominable, being badly made and full of grit. It is needless to observe that the dealers pay no regard to the orders of the government, and sell loaves either of light weight, or adulterated with cheaper materials. When Surrayya Pasha inspected the shops in person, on which occasion I accompanied him, twelve offenders against the law were imprisoned; and many others only escaped by having no more bread to sell; that is to say, they had heard of the Pasha's coming, and had hidden their stock.

There is no lack of watchmakers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, tailors, bootmakers, and cabinetmakers, who can supply not only the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life. There are excellent building materials to be obtained, and good quarrymen, stonecutters, and masons. Wood is rather scarce in the country, but can be got from Egypt or Beyrout, where the yards are overstocked by the supplies from Trieste and Lebanon.

The French, Austrian, and Turkish posts facilitate intercourse with Europe and the East. The steamers also of the French Messagerie Impériale and of the Austrian Lloyd arrive at the port of Jaffa on alternate weeks. The Turkish post is very badly managed; for the courier is often robbed of his mail-bag, and when it arrives in safety, the distribution of its contents is conducted so carelessly, that the first comer may possess himself of any letter he pleases; so that nothing valuable should be entrusted to it.

The commerce of the city is on a very small scale, nor are there many merchants who speculate; and such as there are, except the Europeans and some few of the inhabitants, are more to be feared than the Bedouins who infest the open country. The value of money changes from one moment to another, according to the bankers' caprice, without the Government taking any notice of the matter. The legal rate of interest is 10, and sometimes 12 per cent., but this is disregarded;[Pg 266] the usurers, who are numerous, demand 25 and even 30 per cent. Business in Jerusalem is transacted slowly, not only owing to the nature of the inhabitants, but also because Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, are the days of rest to the Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians, respectively; not to speak of the other numerous festivals which each community keeps holy during the course of the year.

If a European wishes to remain in good health, he should wear flannel, and avoid using linen, because the mornings and evenings are damp, and the temperature is frequently liable to considerable changes. When he is obliged to expose himself to the sun, he should cover his head with white cloth, and thus he will escape unhurt.



When on a journey, and exposed to great heat, he should wear white clothing, and eat and drink very sparingly, not taking much water while *en route*.

It is well to be aware that all the gates are shut at sunset, excepting the Jaffa Gate, which remains open an hour longer; so that the traveller who arrives too late may be obliged to sleep in the open air, unless he have taken the precaution to furnish himself with an order from the Commandant.

Whoever goes out into the streets by night must carry a lantern, not only because it is so ordered by the authorities, and a person breaking this rule is liable to be arrested by a patrol or by the police, but also because it is otherwise impossible to avoid stumbling in some ill repaired part of the road, or being attacked by the packs of dogs, who guard and infest the streets of the city.

Having thus given some general information and advice, I proceed to make a few remarks on the present state of the city. A walk through the streets, when undertaken without a special purpose, is more oppressive than refreshing. They are narrow and dark, frequently arched over, and almost deserted. They are paved with stones, ill joined and uneven. These are not easy to walk on, as their surfaces are smooth and slippery, especially in the rainy season; and on horseback they are very dangerous, as I experienced myself the first time that I saw them. As the city slopes from west to east, the streets generally fall in the same direction; so that the upper are less filthy than the lower, which in the rainy season are horribly foul, since the dirt all lodges in them, and no one takes the trouble to remove it. Surraya Pasha issued strict orders to the street police, and frequently inspected them himself; but it is very hard work to keep the Arabs from their beloved mud. In the more frequented parts of the town the shops are generally mean in appearance, and disgust rather than amuse the spectators. The houses are built with small stones, some black with age, the rest light grey. Most of them have no windows outside, and those which have resemble prisons or monasteries, as the apertures are small and barred. This produces a very dull and oppressive effect, until the eye becomes accustomed to it. The entrance-doors are generally low and narrow, and I recommend the stranger not to form his opinion of the internal arrangements[Pg 267] from what he sees on the threshold. The houses have terrace-roofs, many of which are covered with slabs of stone well united; but the generality are formed of small pieces mixed with cement, beaten into a solid mass, which however does not possess much power of resistance, as it cracks with the heat of the sun, and admits the water in rainy weather; consequently many of the houses are damp, and their inhabitants liable to fevers. These terrace-roofs are surrounded by a wall five or six feet high, serving as a parapet. It is formed of small earthenware tubes, making it look like the side of a dovecot; but by this means the women, by whom the roofs are used as places for exercise and amusement, can see, without being seen.

Heaps of ruins and filth are seen in the public places, and no one frequents them for business; beggars crave an alms, lepers exhibit their sores, vagrant curs snarl over their booty. Camels crouched down await their burdens, and fill the air with a disgusting odour, caused by the ointment with which they are smeared to cure skin-diseases. Disgust, fear, hypocrisy, slavishness and distrust, are the common expressions in the faces of the men, shewing the different races of which they are composed; opposed one to another in religion and fortunes, victors and vanquished, jealous and distrustful one of the other. The women are generally covered with a white cloth, looking like ghosts, or if uncovered, would look better veiled. If wearied with the dullness within, we go outside the walls, we find a few olive-trees on the north-west, a few young plantations on the west, and the rest barren and desolate. Everywhere deep valleys or steep hills, stony and rocky roads, impracticable for carriages, difficult for horses, and painful for foot-travellers. Wherever we go the memorials of the dead are before our eyes; for the cemeteries are the places of general resort. Escaping, however, from the city, from its bad smells and loathsome and importunate beggars, we can ascend the hills, and contemplate a panorama, where every stone is a witness of God's revelation, and every ruin a monument of His wrath. On these bare summits high and ennobling thoughts fill the mind, bringing a calm that is found with difficulty in bustling and crowded cities. He who is careless or unbelieving, he who travels only from curiosity or to kill time, had better take my advice, and avoid Jerusalem. There he will have no amusement beyond taking a ride, or smoking and drinking bad coffee in an Arab *café*; watching the languid passers by, or listening to Arab songs accompanied on tuneless instruments. He, however, who has a family or business to care for, or is occupied in studying the inexhaustible riches of the soil, will live in Jerusalem as agreeably as in any other place.

There is but little pleasant social intercourse in Jerusalem, owing to the jealousies among the rival sects; so that the conversation generally runs upon the failings and faults of the members of the communities which are not represented at the [Pg 268] party; and scandalous stories and ill natured remarks are retailed to the visitor, who is soon wearied and disgusted.

Hence it will appear that Jerusalem offers but slight attractions to one who is not contented with the memories of the past, and the love of archæological research. These, however, supply an unceasing field of enjoyment and constant occupation.

Jerusalem is not inhabited by a people; it is a great field wherein are collected members from every nation, brought there by their religious belief, and about to depart when their end is accomplished. No city resembles less a fatherland, none is more like a place of exile. The Turks, after impoverishing and governing the land after their own fashion, give place to new magistrates, and return home with full purses; the Arabs, who acquire there an idea of civilization, depart in search of a

place where they can lay out their property to advantage; while those who remain barbarians, after gaining a moderate sum, retire to the desert to end their days. The European missionaries and travellers, after a long stay, desire at length to die in their native land. The Western and Eastern pilgrims make but a brief sojourn, and though many of them bewail leaving the Holy Places, certain it is they never remain. The Jews replace one another constantly, coming to ask leave to die in that fatherland, which in life they have been unable to regain. The few families established at Jerusalem are not ancient. Each speaks of the date of his arrival, but is uncertain of the length of his stay. In the Holy City, therefore, the population is constantly changing, renewed daily by the pilgrims, and oppressed by a disheartening uncertainty caused by the despotism and incapacity of the Government of the Sublime Porte. This of course tends to prevent the formation of intimate friendships and the fusion of the different races.

The greater part of the land does not belong to its occupants, but is the property of the mosques or of the churches, and is therefore called *Wakf*. There is the *Wakf* of the *Haram es-Sherîf*, the property of the great mosque; the *Wakf el-Tekiyeh*, the property of the Hospital of S. Helena (as it is commonly called); the *Wakf Franji*, the property of the Latin convent; the *Wakf Rûmi*, the property of the Greek convent; and in the same way they speak of the *Wakf* of the Russians, Armenians, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, English, Prussians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Jews. Another part of the ground falls by law to these public bodies in case of the extinction of the families who possess it, or a failure of the male line. These are called *mulk maukuf* i.e. mortmain. Hence it comes that the smaller part only of the soil is private property (*mulk*); so that, owing to these restrictions, a single small estate belongs to several owners, and there are many difficulties and much danger of being cheated in buying land.

I will now offer a few remarks upon the condition of the different religious[Pg 269] sects, premising that they entertain the bitterest feelings one towards another, and are only restrained from greater excesses by the fear that the Turks will profit by their quarrels, and listen to the highest bidder. The Consuls of the different nations have hard work to keep the peace, finding themselves of but little power in allaying strifes; not for want of will and moral courage, but because their authority only extends to small matters, and they are not properly seconded by the spiritual heads of the communities, who rather stir up the disputants and increase the difficulty of restoring peace.

The most wealthy and powerful, and, in times past (and sometimes even now), the most distinguished in these contentions are the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians; and the Turks are never sorry to see them at strife, as they reap a harvest from both the losers and the winners. Scarcely had the tempest of war caused by the Crusades passed away, when these communities began to struggle at the court of the Sublime

Porte for the possession of the Holy Places. Each produced *firmands* given by Mohammed, Omar, Saladin, or various Sultans; and the ministers at the court always decided in favour of the highest bidder, so that the same place was assigned by different *firmands* to the Latins, the Greeks, or the Armenians. In consequence it has happened that one party, believing itself to be the true proprietor of a particular Sanctuary, has declared the other an impostor, until the sight of a *firman* of older date has shown the vanity of its claims.

The enmity of the clergy has descended to the people, and frequently, upon the most futile pretexts, the churches and Holy Places have been the theatres of fatal encounters between rival nations. The Pashas of former times (now it is different) gladly interfered on these occasions, to impose heavy fines upon the weaker party, and to sell impunity to the strong, who were quite ready to begin fresh disturbances the next day. At one time the Greeks were driven from the Holy Places by order of the Porte; now the Latins were subjected to the utmost annoyance; while the Armenians profited by the discord to establish themselves in the Sanctuaries belonging to one or other of the disputants, whose claims they pretended to be supporting. The Catholic Governments lacked the means, and perhaps the inclination, to interfere directly in such questions. The ministers of France, Spain, Venice, and Austria, in Constantinople, sometimes listened to the complaints of the religious fraternities, to whom the custody of the Holy Places had been confided. But whether their own governments failed to support them, or whether that of the Sultan was not found tractable, certain it is that their applications were seldom heeded; and, in fact, cases occurred of even personal violence being employed against the French Ministers and the Venetian *Baili*, or still more frequently, against their subordinates. Until within a few years past, money was the only way of succeeding in negotiations with the Porte. Hence it may be understood, as[Pg 270] regards the Latins, how it is that the guardianship of the Holy Land has been so expensive to Europe[898]. The Franciscans had also the privilege of acquiring real property and disposing of the alms of the Faithful; until the Propaganda began to view with dislike such large sums removed entirely from its control; so in order to inaugurate a fresh system, a Patriarch was established at Jerusalem in 1847, and assigned as his revenue the fifth part of the alms received by the Guardians. This arrangement gave him the right of examining the accounts, and to the Propaganda upon the management of affairs. He was, however, so obstinately opposed by the monks, that he was obliged to make a compromise with them, in which the interests, if not the minds, of the two parties were somewhat reconciled. The Greeks also were reduced to the same situation as the Latins; for a community which is obliged to support its influence at the Turkish Court by the aid of money alone, is compelled to have recourse to expedients of every sort in order to obtain it. Consequently, either from the piety of the faithful or the activity of the monks, the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem has amassed a very large property, consisting of

possessions in Wallachia, Bessarabia, Greece, and other countries, besides its estates in Palestine, and especially in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which are being continually augmented. The secretary of the Greek convent of S. Constantine, the Archimandrite Nicoferus, has purchased in the last few years a number of estates, the value of which is not less than 6,000,000 piastres, or about £48,000. The property of the monasteries is almost entirely derived from the legacies left by the monks, who purchase in their own names, to leave to the convent, which always inherits their possessions, except a small allowance to the parents of the deceased, if they are living. The purchase-money, however, must come from the common chest of the convent, for it is of course impossible that a poor monk should have the means of buying land to such an amount. However this may be, the convent ultimately obtains the property, and thus its rent-roll increases. It still keeps on receiving the offerings of the faithful, which it lays out in the purchase of real property. This the Franciscans are now forbidden by the Propaganda to acquire;[Pg 271] they are therefore obliged to subsist, maintain their Sanctuaries, and entertain pilgrims, on the alms which, to a greater or less amount, are sent to them from Christendom.

The revenues of the Armenians are chiefly supplied by landed property, by the money which they have out at interest on good security, and by the alms and dues of the pilgrims. They possess the best establishment in Jerusalem, and their revenues are well administered; but in spite of that they would not have so much influence as the Greeks and Latins, were it not for those of their religion who fill high places in the Turkish government.

No part of the population furnishes so many subjects for reflexion as the Jews, who dwell in the land of their fathers, without seeking to imitate their example. A remnant of their nation, they stay in their ancient capital, to pray, to weep, and to die, in the land that should be their own. The greater part live without working, upon the gifts sent by their industrious brethren in Europe and the East. From this circumstance it will be easily understood how it is that misery and indigence prevail among them, because they depend not on labour but on alms, which diminish year by year, on account of the increasing numbers who flock to Jerusalem to share them. When these supplies are distributed slowly, or are scanty, they begin to murmur, and utter the most unreasonable and shameless complaints against their benefactors. The sole source of revenue of the Jewish community is the almsbox; and when its contents diminish, the different congregations assemble and choose persons, who are provided with papers from the Rabbis, countersigned by the Consuls, and start as collectors, returning after long journeys with the fruits of their wanderings. The alms thus obtained are carelessly and thriftlessly distributed, and not applied to any useful purpose, consequently these collections are constantly repeated. Nor are they fairly divided; the truly poor, the sick, the widows and the orphans, too weak to complain or resist, are often neglected and defrauded; they cannot write, and



therefore are not feared; but those who can cry aloud and make their discontent heard, who can give trouble or annoyance by complaints and intrigues, are attended to and served. Those too who are appointed to distribute the alms are utterly unfit for the duty, giving no heed and making no endeavours to qualify themselves for it, since they are neither able nor willing to make the best of the means committed to them, and secure its being bestowed on deserving objects. In a word, the Jews at Jerusalem are unfortunate in those who manage their affairs, for they are men who neglect good advice, who are servile flatterers when they hope to gain, and discontented grumblers when they get nothing. Hence it is their own fault that the Jews are degraded and miserable, because they do not attempt to repress the abuses that prevail. If the constant arrival of idle paupers was prevented, the funds would be[Pg 272] sufficient for those who really want. Again, most of those who come are aged men, and unable to resist the demands of certain Arabs, who term themselves their protectors. If only the Jews would act with energy against their oppressors, the Government would attend to them; but, rather than claim their rights, they submit to those who rob them of their scanty alms. Formerly they were also oppressed by the Government, which was enough to account for their unfortunate condition; but since 1855 they have had no ground of complaint on this score, for Kiamil Pasha and Surraya Pasha treated them as fairly as all the other religious communities, by affording a ready ear to their complaints, by discomfiting their enemies at Hebron, and making the roads safe which they frequent on their pilgrimage. These Governors have also made laws enforcing cleanliness in the Jewish Quarter, have protected their rights in the purchase of land and houses, have admitted them to their parties, and visited their principal men; so that it is not now the fault of the Pashas if the Jews still live in dirt and degradation. It would be well if there were a Board in Jerusalem, commissioned to investigate the motives which bring settlers into the country, and prevent those from coming whose sole mode of subsistence would be the alms of others. They might also employ part of the money entrusted to them in succouring real misery, and the rest in supporting useful institutions, in purchasing lands, and bringing them under cultivation. Thus might the Jews be rescued from their degradation, and at length rendered happy instead of miserable.

We must also say a few words on the Protestant Mission to the Jews. This was established in 1840, but can scarcely be said to have met with the success that the efforts it has made, and the sums it has expended, deserve. I do not believe that the number of converts, during the 23 years that the Mission has been in operation, amounts to 150; and a very small number of these has been won in Jerusalem. Most of them, after being converted in some part of Europe, come to Palestine to find occupation, which they have lost in their native country from deserting the creed of their fathers. On arriving they are assisted and employed by the Mission; but, were they not thus cared for, I fear that many of them would relapse. In fact, though these converts read their Bibles, and rigorously conform to the observances of their

new faith, they do not appear to understand it, and the benefit of the change only shews itself in their children, who have been brought up in the bosom of the Christian Church, and are thus free from the memories of the Synagogue, and not actuated by the interested motives which in some cases have influenced their fathers. Impostors also have contributed to swell the ranks of the converts, who have been excommunicated by the Rabbis, or who wish to avail themselves of some of the advantages the Mission offers, and who, after they have gained their points, return to their former allegiance. Nor do the[Pg 273] Missionaries meet with much success among the Jewish residents in the city, or among those who come there to die; their convictions and their interest are opposed to a change of faith. Munk[\[899\]](#), himself a Jew, wrote thus a few years ago: "It is needless to say that the attempts of Bishop Alexander, sent to Palestine under the auspices of England and Prussia, have up to this time met with no success;" and I can assert the same of Bishop Gobat. Truth compels me to state that the Mission has not been successful at Jerusalem, and will not be (in my opinion) if the wealthy Jews in Europe take care that the affairs of their brethren in Jerusalem are properly managed. If the conversion of the Jews be desired, I believe that more success will be obtained among the larger numbers resident in Europe, than among the little band of those more strongly attached to their ancient faith, who are resident at Jerusalem. Since their efforts against Judaism have failed, the Missionaries have attempted to make proselytes from the other religious sects, but with little success. I do not wish to enter fully into the subject, but simply state that the few converts, which have been won from the other Christian communities, have to be maintained at the expense of the Mission, or they would be soon lost; and that the Mission has thus excited the jealousy of the other bodies, and exposed itself to secret and open attacks. True it is that it circulates copies of the Bible in all the languages spoken in the country; but this is not a result of so much value as it appears at first sight to be. Very many volumes indeed are given away, or purchased (and that too at a very low price); but how many of them fall into the hands of men who cannot or will not read, or are bought or taken away by the monks, and destroyed? Many copies in different languages are thus lost, which would be most valuable if distributed among more highly civilized people. It may be doubted, too, whether it is wise to circulate the entire volume, for often the reader comes upon some passage which shocks his prejudices, and so the book is cast away in disgust, because he is not yet able to bear a doctrine so different to what he has always been taught.

I conclude this subject by declaring that, in the above remarks, I have not been actuated by any party spirit, but by the desire of speaking the plain truth; and I confidently appeal to those who are acquainted with the real state of affairs at Jerusalem, to bear me out in what I have felt it my duty to say.

A few words must also be devoted to the Turks and the Arabs. The former govern the country; the latter endure their rule, and frequently rebel against their authority.

As slaves they thoroughly hate their masters, still they are frequently reconciled by common interests, when there seems a chance of conjointly extorting money from the Christian communities. It should, however, be said, that there has been a great change for the better since 1857, owing to the excellent rule of [Pg 274] Surraya Pasha; but still the Mohammedans are a hindrance and an evil in the country. This is not so much due to any fault in individuals, as to the bad administration of the Turkish Government at Constantinople. Their appointments are often bestowed upon the highest bidder, and again taken away when a higher appears; consequently the man who obtains a governorship of a province, a judgeship, or any other post, has invested a portion of his capital in the quest, and comes to his duties with every intention of refilling his coffers as quickly as possible, since he cannot reckon upon his stay in office. The subordinates too are miserably paid, and have hardly a shilling for the necessities of life; consequently they have greedy palms, and so oppression, venality, injustice, and all kinds of evils, are perpetrated. The religious communities, however, do not suffer as they once did, owing to the zeal and moderation of Surraya Pasha, the energy of the Consuls, and the resistance which some of the Ecclesiastical Dignitaries have offered to grasping cupidity and unjust demands. Among these, however, we cannot reckon the Orientals, who still submit slavishly, and pay whatever is demanded, as they are dependent upon the Sublime Porte, and so must comply with the custom of the country. In conclusion, I may add, that money is all-powerful with the Turks and Arabs in Jerusalem: gold calms fanaticism, humbles the proud, renders justice uncertain and the police blind, opens the prison-doors; in a word, in that city everything has its price. The effect of this is that self-interest, as I have already said, prevents any outbreak of fanaticism against the Christians or the Jews, as the Mohammedans know full well that by this means they would be greatly the losers.

A few words must also be said about the proselytes among the different Christian sects. The insane rivalries among these, far more than true conviction, produce the greater number of converts from one party to another. Of this there are many sad examples in Jerusalem. Whenever a person (I do not refer to Europeans) thinks he is wronged by his own community, he turns to another, and goes where he expects to find the greatest advantages. No one can form an idea of this commerce in religion who has not lived some time at Jerusalem and seen it for himself. The most trivial matters are enough to make a man change his creed; but happily the Missionaries and Convents are beginning to open their eyes to the true state of the case, and do not so readily admit the new converts into their church, without making previous enquiry into their character, and the reasons which have produced the change.

One of the things which excites commerce and brings a little money into Jerusalem is the system of pilgrimages; and on these I purpose to say a few words, without entering into details—an endless matter. The European pilgrims are not so

numerous as those from the East, and most of them are poor, so that they bring more expense than profit to the Franciscans, in whose convents they are lodged and fed, and by[Pg 275] whom they are conducted to the spots consecrated by the events of the Old and New Testament. For this the monks ask nothing, though they accept any gift that is offered; consequently the presents are unfrequent, and seldom compensate for the expense that the donor has caused. Every pilgrim is allowed to remain a month in the hospice at Jerusalem, without any other recommendation than his passport and three days in the others in different parts of Palestine, provided he be in good health. When he is ill, according to his rank, he is nursed in the hospice, or in the hospital, without anything to pay for doctors, druggists, or attendants. It is plain, therefore, that this philanthropic undertaking of the Franciscans is on too large a scale, and is a burden to the convents, besides encouraging knaves and vagabonds, who go on pilgrimages to pass away the time and live in idleness. A judicious reform of this unlimited hospitality, and a careful scrutiny of the papers of such as appear to be vagrants, would be a beneficial change. Those who think that the pilgrims supply, in great part, the revenues which enable the Fathers of the Holy Land to bear these heavy expenses, should know that these come mainly from the different Christian nations, with whose alms the churches, schools, and houses in which the pilgrims are lodged, are maintained, and the poor and pilgrims supported. In order to give an idea of the number of the pilgrims who have availed themselves of the hospitality of the Franciscans during the last ten years, I print the following extract from the Archives of the Convent of S. Saviour:

Year.	No. of Pilgrims received.	Length of their stay (days).
1850	3611	16373
1851	3797	28580
1852	5696	20109
1853	5574	21364
1854	4620	18144
1855	6874	23522
1856	5470	21302
1857	7196	26280
1858	5809	25800
1859	7116	27792

Therefore in these ten years 55,763 pilgrims have been admitted into the different convents in Palestine, who were supported during 229,346 days, and their offerings

cannot have been enough to entertain them for a third part of their stay, so that the Friars cannot be said to derive any advantage from them.

The Latin Patriarchate, though its revenues are small in comparison with the expenses it has to support, practises largely the virtue of hospitality, and knows well how to succour the poor and destitute.

The Protestant Mission relieves the poor, but does not offer to travellers or pilgrims of its own faith the same advantage as the heads of the Latin community, who bestow their benefits upon members of other religious sects with as much care as upon their own.[Pg 276]

The Jewish community relieves its pilgrims from the moment of their arrival, admitting them into houses appointed for that purpose; but if the strangers are without means of their own, they have no great cause to praise the welcome and hospitality they receive.

The great mass of pilgrims to the Holy City comes, every year, from the East, consisting of Russians, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians, Maronites, and Mohammedans themselves. The greater part of these arrive at Jaffa in steam-boats or trading vessels, in which they are stowed like merchandise, or like negroes in a slave-ship. Not only men, but also entire families, women, girls, and boys, the aged, the sick, and the maimed, make the long pilgrimage. These all expose themselves to bad weather by sea and land, to great privations, and to all kinds of exactions. They assemble in large companies, carrying their provisions along with them, besides merchandize for driving bargains, together with mats for bedding, and cooking vessels, which they load upon camels, mules, and asses. They, however, in many cases walk, often bare-foot, making short stages, sleeping in the open air, or crowded together in a convent; enduring all these fatigues in order to worship in the places which Christ has consecrated by His sufferings. When they arrive at Jerusalem they betake themselves severally to the convents belonging to their own community, and there, after certain formalities, are distributed into lodgings; where, if Greeks, they are crowded together in heaps; if Armenians, they are more comfortable; and if Russians, they have every comfort. I will not weary the reader by relating what the arrangements of the different communities are with regard to their pilgrims; but will only describe those of the Greeks, as they receive the greatest number of all.

The Greek pilgrims of high rank are conducted into apartments assigned to them, where they are well lodged and nourished, according to their importance and dignity. They are not asked for money, but are given to understand the wants of the community, and the needs of the Church; so that they pay liberally for the hospitality they have received, and for the churches and Sanctuaries they have



visited. The common pilgrims, after reposing two days in the great convent of S. Constantine, are presented to the Patriarch, who receives an offering from each, under the name of a contribution to the wants of the churches and convents of his diocese. They are then conducted into the Church of the Resurrection, where they pass a night in prayer, and make other offerings to the Guardian of the Sepulchre for the maintenance of the Sanctuaries. On being brought back into the convent, a plentiful repast is provided for them, and their names are enrolled for the pilgrimages to the Jordan and Nazareth, for which they pay a tax. They are then conducted to their lodgings, or rather dens, in one of the numerous convents in Jerusalem. On taking possession of these, they pay a sum proportionate to the expense of their pilgrimage, amounting only to eight or ten shillings. They must, however, make a present in addition, to[Pg 277] the church of the place, to those who have brought them, to the Superior who receives them, and to the laics who assist to instal them in their new quarters. When they are settled, they are taken to visit the Tomb of the Virgin and all the churches of the convents, where they pay. They make pilgrimages to Bethlehem, and all the other remarkable places. They buy relics, ask for prayers and blessings, but always pay; so that after being entertained at their own expense for four or five months, and after having expended their resources, many are obliged to sell their baggage to return to their native lands, taking back with them the articles they have acquired with so much toil, all of which however have received a blessing. That they are crowded together, and may be said to occupy dens rather than lodgings, appears from the fact, that sometimes eight persons are quartered in a room 16 or 18 feet square, who have not unfrequently met for the first time, and are from different countries; so that the reader may easily conceive the inconveniences they suffer, and the maladies that are caused by the straitened accommodation, especially when the winter happens to be more rainy than usual. Notwithstanding all the observations that have been made on this barbarous manner of lodging, they are always tenacious of their ancient customs; but as Russia now provides well for her own pilgrims, it is to be hoped that the Greeks, having more space, will find some better manner of accommodating theirs.

With the Armenians the pilgrims are better cared for in every respect; but they have to pay for everything, as with the Greeks.

The pilgrims of the different communities are on no better terms one with another than the convents themselves; consequently quarrels break out every year, in which, though life is not lost, bruises and blows of sticks are plentifully bestowed. These contests are most frequent between the Greeks and the Armenians; and the monks, instead of attempting to allay the strife, rather excite it.

I conclude by giving a list of the schools, hospitals, hospices, and other establishments, belonging to the different communities in Jerusalem.

The Jews possess:—

8 Schools (now perhaps more).

1 Hospital, bearing Rothschild's name.

2 Houses used as Hospices (now perhaps more).

1 Large building for lodging the poor, called after Sir M. Montefiore.

The Mohammedans:—

1 Military Hospital.

1 Hospice, called after Saladin.

1 Hospice of the Kusbeck Dervishes.

1 Tekhiyeh el-Khasseki-Sultane, where the poor are supported.[Pg 278]

A number of unimportant Schools.

Several ruined buildings in the *Haram es-Sherîf*, in which the poor are lodged.

The Lepers' Quarter.

The Orthodox Greeks:—

1 Seminary, called after the Holy Cross.

2 Boys' Schools.

1 Girls' School.

1 Free Dispensary.

18 Convents for accommodating Pilgrims.

A number of houses used for the same purpose, and many others for the poor of the community. 1 Printing Press.

The Latins:—

1 Patriarchal Seminary at Beit-jala.

1 Boys' School, kept by the Friars Minor.

2 Girls' Schools, one kept by the Sisters of S. Joseph; the other by the Daughters of Sion.

1 Hospital of S. Louis.

1 Hospice of the Casa Nuova.

1 Hospice, called after the Flagellation.

1 Hospice (the Austrian).

1 Printing Press.

1 Carpenter's shop.

1 Forge.

Several houses for the poor of the community.

The Armenians:—

1 Seminary.  
1 Printing Press.  
1 Boys' School.  
1 Girls' School.  
Magnificent Lodgings for Pilgrims.  
Houses for the poor.

Protestant Missions:—

[Pg 279]

1 Boys' School.  
1 Girls' School.  
1 Girls' School, managed by the Prussian Deaconesses.  
1 Hospital under the same care.  
1 Hospice (Prussian).  
1 Hospital (English).  
1 Carpenters' School.  
1 Reading Room.  
Some houses belonging to the Prussians.

Russians:—

1 Hospital.  
Magnificent Lodgings for Pilgrims.

Copts:—

1 Hospice.  
Houses for members of their community.

The other communities have only their convents.

In a population of only 20,453 inhabitants, where there are so many schools and so many establishments, it is a great misfortune that no progress is seen, and that there does not appear to be even the hope of obtaining it for a long time to come.[Pg 280]

## FOOTNOTES:

[\[898\]](#) To show the sums received by the reverend Franciscan Fathers of the Holy Land, I think it will prove interesting if I give the following account published in a pamphlet, *L'Eco Francescano*, printed at Madrid in the year 1854. It is an authentic statement of the sums sent by the Catholic states to the Holy Land between the years 1650 and 1850. I do not add the details of the manner in which the amount was expended, because I have not the necessary papers; but I do not exaggerate

when I say that those who have derived the greatest advantage from it have been the ministers of the Ottoman Porte and their dependents.

Spanish Reals.

Spain sent	146,362,280
The Austrian States (Lombardy and Venice are not distinct)	18,361,680
France	2,499,420
Naples	14,091,560
Portugal	39,685,480
Sicily	5,275,000
Rome	2,205,660
Tuscany	3,290,800
Island of Sardinia	1,137,700
Island of Malta	1,439,360
Piedmont	5,578,120
Total	239,737,060

About 11,996,883 francs, nearly half a million sterling, of which not a centime remains.

[\[899\]](#) Palestine, p. 653.

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[Pg 281]

**NOTES.**

**NOTES ON CHAPTER I.**

Note I. See Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. IV. 2 sqq.; and his book on the Martyrs of Palestine, chap. 11; Dio's resumé of the history of the reign of Hadrian; S. Jerome, Letter to Paulinus.

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Note II. Neby Samwîl (Prophet Samuel) is a village on the N.W. of Jerusalem, at a distance of about three hours from the city. From its summit the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea are visible, and it commands a magnificent view of Palestine to the East and West. This is not the place to say anything of this site in its connexion with ancient topography; I will merely state in passing that I dissent from the

opinion of Dr Robinson, who would identify the place with Mizpeh, the frequent meeting-place of the Jews (Judges xx.; 1 Sam. vii. 6, 12, x. 17, 24); I believe it to be Ramah. For here is found the sepulchre of the prophet Samuel, which I have myself seen, and from the earliest times to this day the Israelites have constantly undertaken pilgrimages in order to touch even the outer walls which enclose the tomb. Accordingly I identify the Ramah mentioned in 1 Sam. xxv. 1 and xxviii. 3, and the Ramah of Josephus (Ant. VI. 13, § 5), with the Arab village of Neby Samwîl. In my book on the tombs of Machpelah, Ephratah, and Ramah, this point will be discussed at length.

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Note III. "He removed thence (from Gabaoth Saul), and came to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple." (Josephus, Wars, V. 2, § 3.) Titus himself, with 600 horsemen, had made a reconnoitring expedition before he encamped at Scopus, during which he was intercepted by a body of the Jews, and had a very narrow escape with his life. Scopus was, however, the first place from which the main army obtained a view of the city.

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Note IV. Above each of the gates of Jerusalem is inserted a stone bearing the following inscription, which was translated for me from the Arabic (Plate VII.): "The Sultan our sovereign, the most potent king, and illustrious monarch, the lord of the nations, the king of the Greeks, Arabs, and Persians, the Sultan Solyman (whose reign may God render happy and immortal!) caused the building of these holy walls, in the year 941;" of the Hejra, that is, corresponding to 1534 of the common era.

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Note V. I subjoin the following note for the information of travellers, that they may not have to pass the night outside the Jaffa gate, or on Fridays lose valuable time.

The gates of the city are all closed at sunset, the Jaffa gate a little later, that being the one by which all foot-passengers enter the city, and by which the inhabitants of the city go out for their walks. A person reaching Jerusalem after all the gates are closed can procure entrance by the Jaffa gate only, on obtaining a permit from the governor.



Every Friday at the hour of prayer (i.e. from noon to 1 P.M.) all the gates of the city are closed, and it is difficult to obtain permission to have them opened. This is done to allow time to the guards in charge for their devotions.

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Note VI. The following are the names of the principal streets of Jerusalem:

*Harat bâb-el-'Amud* (the street of the Column-gate), crosses the city from North to South;

*Souk el-Kebir* (the street of the Grand Bazaar), runs from West to East, and is the same which in the time of the Crusades was called the Street of David;

*Harat el-Alam* (the *Via Dolorosa*), starts from the gate of S. Mary, passes to the barrack on Mount Moriah, then after bearing for a short way to the South in the Tyropœon valley, takes again a Westerly direction as far as the Porta Judiciaria;

*Harat el-Naçâra* (the street of the Christians), from the Holy Sepulchre to the Latin Convent;

*Harat el-Arman* (the Armenian street), on the East of the Castle;

*Harat el-Yahud* (the Jews' street) is situated on the Eastern slope of Mount Sion;

*Harat bâb Hotta*, the street that runs parallel to the Temple in the central valley;

And many others, which are little frequented, and are not worthy of mention.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER II.

Note I. The drainage system of the city is divided into the Southern, Northern, and Eastern sections, the division of the two former being marked by the street called the Street of David. The keeping in repair of the Southern section is the business of the local governor, and in consideration thereof he receives a fixed annual sum from the Armenians and the Jews, as inhabitants of that quarter. The Northern section as far as the central valley is kept in repair by the Latin and Greek convents, this district containing the quarters of their respective nations. All the drainage on the Eastern side is under the sole charge of the governor. The Arabs very seldom take the trouble to look after their own sewers, but are zealous enough in enforcing the execution of repairs which belong to the Christian communities; and since the latter have them executed with an ill-will, and employ men of no experience for the direction of the works, the drains are choked and flooded almost every year, and are constantly being opened for repairs; a cause of no slight annoyance in the city. It was during these works that, for eight successive years, I had the opportunity of

examining their formation, their respective inclines, and directions, from which I found that they all run into the central valley (the Tyropœon Valley of my map), and thence drain away to the S.E. outside the city, as far as the large pool, now filled up, below the fountain of Siloam.

The Christians have been obliged to accept the performance of these and other foul works since the commencement of the supremacy of the Arabs and Turks, who have submitted them to the most severe humiliations, and to the most vile and oppressive tasks.

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Note II. On the subject of "cubits" and stadia, I transcribe the remarks of M. Munk, in his book entitled "La Palestine," subjoining an account of my own special observations on the subject.

"The measures of length, called *Middoth*, are generally referred to the hand and arm; the following are mentioned: (1) *Eçba* (Jer. lii. 21), *the finger*, i.e. the breadth of the finger or thumb; (2) *Tephach* (1 Kings vii. 26), or *tophach* (Exodus xxv. 25), the *hand-breadth*, i.e. the breadth of four fingers; (3) *Zereth* (Exodus xxviii. 16), the distance between the tips of the thumb and little finger, or the *span*; (4) *Ammah*, the whole length of the fore-arm, or *cubit*. The relative value of these measures is not indicated in any part of the Bible; to fix it, we must consult Josephus and the Rabbinic traditions. In Exodus xxv. 10, the dimensions of the ark are stated as follows; length 2-1/2 cubits, breadth 1-1/2 cubits, height 1-1/2 cubits. Josephus, in the Antiquities (III. 6, § 5), represents the 2-1/2 cubits by 5 spans, and for 1-1/2 cubits puts 3 spans: hence the span was the half of the cubit. The Rabbins agree with Josephus; according to them the zereth is half a cubit, referring to the mean cubit [\[A\]](#) which contained six hand-breadths, each hand-breadth being equivalent to four fingers. These data may be adhered to as exact, because the same proportions recur in other ancient [\[Pg 283\]](#) systems. Thus for example the Greeks had their cubits of 1-1/2 feet, which made six hand-breadths or 24 fingers; Herodotus (II. 149) speaks of a cubit of six hands in use amongst the Egyptians. We have then for the relative values of the Hebrew measures the following table:

<i>Ammah</i>	1
<i>Zereth</i>	2 . 1
<i>Tephach</i>	6 . 3 . 1
<i>Eçba</i>	24 . 12 . 4 . 1

"The knowledge of the absolute value of any one of these would therefore be sufficient to enable us to deduce those of the rest; but since on this point we have no positive datum, in the writings either of Josephus or of the Rabbins, we must be

contented with an approximate estimate by the aid of the Egyptian measures, which modern discoveries enable us to fix with a certain precision. It is probable, besides, that the system of the Hebrews was borrowed from that of the Egyptians. The Rabbins determine their measures of length by the breadth of grains of barley placed side by side—a custom which also prevails amongst the Arabs and other Eastern tribes. It is easily seen that there is an uncertainty in this method of measurement, owing to the unequal sizes of the barley-grains. Maimonides, who has made minute calculations on the subject, has found that the *Eḳba* of the Bible is equal to the breadth of seven average-sized grains of barley[B], which gives for the *Ammah* 168. It is found by calculations sufficiently exact that the Arab cubit, which is estimated at 144 grains of barley (that is, twenty-four fingers of six grains each), when reduced to (Paris) lines and decimal parts of lines, gives 213.050[C], which would give for the Hebrew *Ammah* of 168 barley-grains 248.564 (about 560 millimetres, or 22 inches). This result is not thoroughly exact, but it will be seen that it does not differ much from the probable value of the Egyptian measures;—at any rate it may serve to establish the connexion which existed between the measures of the Hebrews and those of the Egyptians.

"But another question presents itself. The learned have attributed to the Hebrews more than one kind of cubit[D], and while we reject mere conjectures that have no solid basis, we must at any rate admit two kinds; the one ancient or Mosaic, used for the measurement of sacred things, the other modern, for common use. In the second book of Chronicles (iii. 3), a 'cubit of the first measure,' or ancient cubit, is spoken of as employed for the measurements of the Temple of Solomon,—which implies the existence of a modern or common cubit. The prophet Ezekiel (xl. 5, xliii. 13) in a vision in which he sees the dimensions of the future temple, speaks evidently of a cubit containing a hand-breadth more than the ordinary cubit, from which we may conclude that between the two cubits there was a difference of a hand-breadth. This difference the Talmud interprets in the sense, that the less contained only five of the six hand-breadths of the greater[E]; but it would be more consistent to give them the same ratio as the two different Egyptian cubits had, i.e. that of 7 : 6, approximately. Further, it is probable that each of the two was divided into six hand-breadths; the Talmud speaks expressly of longer and shorter hand-breadths[F]. The old Mosaic cubit was, without doubt, the royal cubit of the Egyptians, and the different scales of this still extant, together with the measurements of several Egyptian monuments, give for its mean value about 525 millimetres[G] (or 20.67 inches). This result appears less doubtful since it differs by only 35 millimetres from that which was found by the very uncertain calculation of the breadth of the barley-grains. Admitting this, we obtain for the value of the ordinary cubit 450 millimetres or 433.5 (i.e. 17.71 or 17.07 inches), according as we take the Egyptian ratio 7 : 6 or that of the Talmud 6 : 5. Each of these two cubits

was divided in the same proportion into two spans, six hand-breadths, and twenty-four fingers.

"With measures of length may be classed those of distance, or road-measures; but the old Hebrews measured their roads in a very vague and uncertain manner; and as we shall not need to refer to their measurements in this book, I leave the discussion of them to turn to those which are necessary.

"In the Græco-Roman period the Jews reckoned by stadia and miles; which measures are found in the Old Testament and in the Talmud, as is also the [Pg 284] *Sabbath-day's journey* (Acts i. 12), which was about 2000 cubits."

Josephus also often quotes his measurements in stadia, so I will speak of these. Three principal kinds of stadia are known; the Olympic, equivalent to 184.95 metres (or 606.8 feet); the Pythian, equal to 147.6 metres (or 484.3 feet), and lastly the Philæterian, of 213 metres (or 698.8 feet). Through the whole of this work I have adopted the Olympic, because in the measurements taken in Jerusalem itself, and its environs, I have found that it alone corresponds with all the distances which are cited in stadia by Josephus. That author, speaking of the Mount of Olives, puts it at five stadia from the city, Mount Scopus at seven, the monument of Absalom at two, Herodium at sixty, and lastly, Anathoth at twenty stadia. All these distances I have verified, comparing them with the Olympic stadium, and have always found them exact. Hence it is that I employ this to measure the thirty-three stadia of the city's circumference, and the thirty-nine of the lines drawn round it by Titus, &c. For the sacred cubit of the first measure I have adopted the Egyptian of 20.67 inches, and for the common cubit that of 17.71 inches, as a result of the extended observation and study of measurements that I have made on the old stones which are found in the Eastern wall of the Temple, or of the Haram es-Sherîf; with considerable difficulty I have managed to measure many such which have suffered no mutilation, and have found them to correspond with the ordinary cubits and their aliquot parts of spans, hand-breadths, and digits.

In case the reader should desire to examine more minutely the question of Jewish measures, I refer him to the following works, to which the numerals in the text above relate.

[\[A\]](#)

David Kimchi's Dictionary, s. vv. 'Zereth' and 'Tephach'; Maimonides, *Comment. on Mishna*, part 5, tract *Middoth*, ch. 3, § 1, part 6; tract *Kilim*, ch. 17, § 9.]

[\[B\]](#)

Maimonides, *Mische Thorah*, or *Summary of the Talmud*, Bk. II. sect. 3 (*Sepher Thorah*), ch. 9, § 9.]

[C]

Böckh's *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 247. Bertheau, ch. 1, p. 60.]

[D]

Leusden, *Philologus Hebræomixtus*, p. 211, where four kinds of cubits are mentioned; the *common*, the *Sacred*, the *royal*, and the *geometrical*.]

[E]

Maimonides, *Comment. on the Mishna*, tract *Middoth*, III. 1; *Mishna*, tract *Ketim*; the commentaries of Raschi and Kimchi on Ezek. xl. 5.]

[F]

Babylonish Talmud, tract *Succa*, fol. 7, a. Compare Buxtorf, *Lexicon Talmudicum*, coll. 900 and 2370.]

[G]

Böckh finds 524.587 millimetres, nearly 232.55 lines. See Bertheau, c. 1, p. 83.]

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Note III. The Armenians, in the various new edifices that they have built on Mount Sion, have found remains of walls, stones, reservoirs and cisterns of the most remote antiquity, generally at a depth of eighteen or even twenty feet below the surface, sometimes more. Before my arrival in Jerusalem, whilst digging for foundations they found a large quantity of small blocks of limestone of five and seven inches cube, dressed on every side, and so many in number that they employed them to build high and long unmortared walls, which to this day surround their property on the south inside the city. These stones were found collected together in one place, and were not scattered about: it is not impossible that they had been prepared to line the walls of a large pool. I say this because stones of this shape are now found in the pool of Bethesda, but in this reservoir they are wrought with more accuracy and uniformity. In my own time, in 1859, they discovered a pool, cut in the solid rock, which shewed however that the work had not been completed; it was 18 feet long, 10 broad, and 10 deep. In its neighbourhood were seen traces of conduits that they had begun to cut out in the rock.



On the same site I have examined a wall made of blocks of stone roughly squared, combined with others of a polygonal form; the size of the stones for the most part being from two to four cubic feet, and all the interstices between them on the two faces and inside being filled with small stones well fitted together without any trace of cement. At an angle where the stones were larger I observed that they were secured together by means of tenons and mortises of parallelepipedal form cut in the stone itself. The wall was about 5-1/2 feet broad by 6 feet high; but it was evident that it must have been mutilated at some time. I assign it to the age of the Jebusites.

Another wall, six feet broad, was composed of large irregular blocks of stone of from four to eight cubic feet. In it could be distinguished four rows placed one above the other, whose stones were fastened by [Pg 285] clamps of iron or of stone, and in each was discernible more or less some trace of rude rustic work: in the interstices of the interior were inserted small stones well packed together without cement, so that the internal building of the wall formed a solid mass. To their discredit the Armenians do not trouble themselves about antiquities, and consequently take no pains to preserve such ancient remains as they meet with, but destroy or hide them, or avail themselves of the materials for the building of new walls.

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Note IV. In the environs of the city, with the exception of the north and north-west, are frequently found walls, conduits, and scattered stones of large size, rusticated or not, and with or without marks of clamps; but they have been constantly broken up because of the want of will, and also of mechanical means, to make the most of them, or to remove them. Owing to this vandalism, the most precious remains of antiquity are daily disappearing from the soil of Jerusalem. Not seldom trunks of columns, capitals, pedestals, have been found, but some rude clown has broken them up, to be able the more easily to transport the fragments into the city. Sometimes old walls have been broken up by blasting, without any one's taking the trouble to preserve them, or even to delay their destruction, so as to allow of some examination of them. These cases are repeated daily on Mount Sion, on the east of the Mount of Olives, and on the western side of the valley of Kidron; but never in any part where it is not known from human memory, or received tradition, that there have been found remains of Jewish buildings, or large stones scattered over the soil.

On the north and north-west I have made various excavations in order to recover, if possible, one of the Herodian stones of twenty cubits (Josephus, Jewish War, V. 4, § 2); but after repeated and careful research I have failed to find a single one, I do not say of twenty cubits, but even of four: nothing is found there but rock and small

unshapen stones, which do not however give one the idea that they have ever formed part of blocks of larger dimensions.

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Note V. To facilitate the reader's understanding of the allusions in the course of the work, it is necessary that I should indicate the titles by which I characterise the different walls and stones which are found at Jerusalem.

*Jebusite Walls.* This name and age I assign to those that are built of unsquared stones of different sizes, some of which are fastened together by tenon and mortise; the interstices being filled with small stones. (See [Note III.](#))

*Walls of David.* By this name I indicate those walls whose stones are of considerable size and rudely squared, and which present some trace of irregular rustic-work, and are always fastened by tenons of stone or clamps of iron.

*Walls of Solomon.* (See Plate X.) Walls of Solomon I call those that are composed of large blocks of stone, that have not all the same breadth and height, and whose rude rustic-work, about two inches in relief, is surrounded by a flat band of from two inches to two inches and a half. They are fastened together by tenons and mortises in the stone itself, or by cubical pieces inlaid, of a different stone from the block itself, and contain no cement. The various layers of stone one above the other are in one vertical plane, and diminish in thickness the higher they rise; but the vertical joinings of the stones of any layer do not correspond with any regularity with those of a higher or lower layer (Fig. 1): this kind is especially found in the basement of the east wall of the Haram.

By the *wall of Nehemiah* I mean that which presents many blocks of the same character with those of the walls of Solomon; but these are joined together in an irregular manner, that is to say, the several layers are not formed of stones of equal heights, some stones appear to be turned upside down, in some the rustic-work is mutilated in places, many are placed aslant, and lastly, not a few shew the holes where the clamps have been (that is, the side is put in front); and besides, there are mixed with these small stones which appear with a portion of rustication, which shews that the large stones of the old wall have been broken in order to place them more carefully in their position. I assign them to Nehemiah, because the Bible informs us (Neh. iv. 17, 18, vi. 15), that he conducted the work in the midst of alarms, the workmen being all armed, so as to render the walls fit to sustain the assaults with which their enemies were threatening them every moment.

Accordingly to this they owe the irregularity with which they were formed (Fig. 2). What I have[Pg 286] described may be observed in the east wall of the Haram towards the southern end.

*Herodian walls* I judge to be those which present large squared blocks, polished with accurate exactness, and joined together without cement, but with the most delicate care: they have a rustication, much wrought, standing two or three lines in relief, and surrounded by a band of about an inch and a half wide. In these walls the sizes of the stones diminish regularly as they rise higher from the ground, and the vertical joinings of alternate layers correspond exactly throughout, and are at the middle points of the stones which separate the two layers; lastly, every layer is an inch and a half in rear of the preceding. Walls of this kind are found at the S.E. corner of the Haram, and in its western enclosure towards the south (Fig. 3).

*The Roman walls* are formed of fine squared stones, well wrought, joined by means of cement. They may be seen on the south and at the south-west corner of the Haram (Fig. 4).

The walls built by the Crusaders, or by the old Arabs (Saracenic work), reveal themselves at once by the economical proportion of the stones, by the excellent way in which they are joined, and sometimes by their being formed of rows of different colours, red, white, and black (Fig. 5).

The Arab walls of the present day are distinguished by their miserable appearance.

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Note VI. At the first entry of Omar into the city he was conducted by the Patriarch Sophronius to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Whilst he was lingering there, mid-day struck, whereupon the Khalif went out to perform his devotions, and retired to the place where afterwards the little mosque was built;—a remarkable instance of moderation on the part of the Khalif, seeing that, if he had prayed in the Christian church, it would by Mohammedan law have been converted into a mosque. It is owing to this that the sons of Islam have left it to the Christian worship. The adjoining minaret was built by the Mohammedans at the expense of the Christians in the 13th century.

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Note VII. M. Munk, in his book on Palestine writes, "We enumerate here the gates of Jerusalem in their actual order, as ascertained, if not with certainty, at any rate with probable accuracy, starting from the North-west and passing thence to the West, South and East, so as to make the circuit of the walls.

(1) The gate called the *ancient* or *first gate* on the North-east; (2) the *gate of Ephraim*, or of *Benjamin*, on the North, leading to the allotments of these two tribes; (3) the *Corner-gate* on the North-west, at a distance of 400 cubits from the preceding; (4) the *Valley-gate*, on the West, leading probably to the *valley of Gihon*,

and the dragon-well (Neh. ii. 13); (5) the *Dung-gate* on the South-west, 1000 cubits from the preceding (Ibid. iii. 13), apparently the same which was afterwards called the *gate of the Essenes*; (6) the *Fountain-gate* on the South-east, so called from the fountain of Siloam (?), possibly the same which Jeremiah (xix. 2) calls *Harsith* (*Pottery-gate*), and which led to the valley of Hinnom. On the South side, where Mount Sion is inaccessible, there were probably no gates. There remain still five gates, which must have been on the East or South-east of the Temple in the following order from South to North; (7) the *Water-gate*; (8) the *Horse-gate*; (9) the *gate of the Review* or *numbering* (vulg. Porta Judicialis, Neh. iii. 31); (10) the *Sheep-gate*; (11) the *Fish-gate*;—the *Prison-gate* (Neh. xii. 39) appears to have been one of the gates of the Temple."

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Note VIII. The present castle is called by some the Castle of the Pisans; and Adrichomius says that it was built by them when the Latins were the masters of Jerusalem. His words are, "The castle of the Pisans, surrounded by broad fosses, and by towers, was built on the West side of the city by the Christians of Pisa in Italy, at the time when they occupied the Holy Land. Where the Pisans formerly were, the Saracens, and at the present time the Turks, levy a sacrilegious tribute on the pilgrims to the Holy Land."

I cannot attribute to the Pisans the entire building of the edifice, but I grant that they may have restored it in great part. It is certain that Solyman repaired this castle in the year 1534; the inscriptions above the entrance tell us thus much.

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Note IX. Traditions in the East are very unwavering, a fact recognised by all. For instance,[Pg 287] we are told that the Judgment Hall was near to the Temple, on the west side; to this day the Mohammedan tribunal is there, and the Arabs say that their judges sit in the very Judgment Hall not only of the Crusaders but of Solomon. I grant that the walls of the building do not indicate that it is of the age of Solomon, but I shall discuss this building more in detail hereafter.

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Note X. *Description of Jerusalem by Tacitus* (H. V. 10-12).

"Accordingly, as we have said, he (Titus) pitched his camp before the walls of Jerusalem, and made a display of his forces, having drawn them up in battle array. The Jews formed their line close under the walls, where, if success attended them, they could venture further out, and at the same time had a place of shelter ready, in case they should be driven back.

"The cavalry were sent against them together with the light-armed auxiliaries, and fought with doubtful issue; but in time the enemy gave way, and on the following days engaged in frequent skirmishings before the gates, till by their repeated losses they were driven within the walls. The Romans then prepared to carry the place by assault, thinking it unworthy of them to wait till the enemy should be starved out, and volunteered for the dangerous duty of the storming party, some from real valour, many from a reckless bravery and coveting its special rewards. Titus himself had Rome with its wealth and pleasures before his eyes, which seemed to be retarded should not Jerusalem fall at once. But the city, naturally difficult of access, was further strengthened by works and defences which would prove sufficient protection even on level ground. For two hills, which rise to a considerable elevation, were enclosed by walls scientifically made to slant or bend inwards, in order that the flank of a besieging party might be exposed to fire. The edge of the rock breaks off in precipices, and the towers were built to the height of 60 feet, where the form of the mountain added to the height, and to a height of 120 in the lower ground, presenting a wonderful appearance, and at a distance seemingly of equal height. There was a second line of walls inside surrounding the king's palace, and the conspicuous roof of the Antonian tower, so named by Herod in compliment to Marcus Antonius.

"The Temple was a sort of citadel with walls of its own, superior to the rest in construction and finish; the porticoes by which the circuit of the building was made, forming themselves an excellent rampart. It contains a spring of never-failing water, and large reservoirs hollowed out under the soil, and pools and cisterns for storing the rain-water. Its builders had foreseen that frequent wars must arise from the singularity of their customs, and so had provided everything even to meet a long siege; and when the city was taken by Pompeius, their fears and experiences had taught them most of the necessary precautions. And availing themselves of the greed of the reign of Claudius, they purchased the right of fortifying the town, and built walls in time of peace, in apparent anticipation of war—a medley population, its numbers swollen by the disasters of other cities; for all the most headstrong men had taken refuge there, and therefore they were more riotous in their behaviour. They had three leaders, and three armies. The outermost and widest line of walls was defended by Simon, the middle of the city by John, the Temple by Eleazar. John and Simon had the largest number of troops, and the most efficiently armed, while Eleazar had the strongest position: but internecine fighting, treachery, and incendiarism were rife amongst them, and a great quantity of corn was burnt. In time John having sent a detachment of soldiers to murder Eleazar and his band, under plea of offering sacrifice, made himself master of the Temple. In this way the city split up into two factions, till on the approach of the Romans harmony was produced by the war from without."

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Note XI. *The Pilgrim of Bordeaux's description of Jerusalem.*

"There are in Jerusalem two large pools by the side of the Temple; to wit, one on the right, and another on the left, which Solomon made. Inside the city there be two pools with five porticoes, which are called Bethsaida: there men with diseases of many years' standing were healed. The water of these pools is somewhat turbid and of a reddish hue. There likewise is a crypt, where Solomon was wont to torture the unclean spirits. There is the corner of a very high tower, whither the Lord went up, and he that tempted said unto Him, (Cast thyself down from hence); and the Lord said unto him, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but Him only shalt thou serve. There is also the great corner-stone of which it was [Pg 288] said, The stone which the builders rejected. Also at the head of the corner and under the battlements of the tower itself are several chambers on the spot where Solomon had his palace. There too standeth the chamber in the which he sat, and described Wisdom, which chamber is roofed by one single stone. There are two large reservoirs for the subterraneous water, and pools built with great labour. And in the building itself where the Temple was, which Solomon built, you would say that the blood of Zacharias on the marble before the altar had been shed this very day; and the marks of the nails of the soldiers who slew him are so plainly seen, that you would think they had been planted on wax over the whole area. Also there be there two statues of Hadrian, and not far from the statues is a stone much worn, to which the Jews come every year, and anoint it, and bemoan themselves with sighs and rend their garments, and so depart. There is also the house of Hezekiah, king of Judah. Also as you go out into Jerusalem to go up mount Sion, below you on the left in the valley hard by the wall is a pool which is called Siloam. It has four porches, and another large pool without. Its spring runs for six days and nights, but on the seventh is an entire Sabbath, and it runs not by night nor by day. Continuing along the same road up mount Sion, you may see the place where was the house of Caiaphas the priest, and to this time the column still remains where they scourged Jesus. Within the walls of Sion is seen the place where David had his palace, and of seven synagogues which were there one only remains; the rest are ploughed and sown over, as the prophet Esaias foretold. Then to proceed outside the wall, as you go from Sion to the Neapolitan gate, on the right in the valley below are the walls where was once the palace of Pontius Pilate; there our Lord had hearing before He suffered. On the left is the hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw thence is the crypt where His body was laid, and on the third day He rose again: on this spot Constantine the Emperor has erected lately a basilica, or church, of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs from which water is drawn, and behind it a bath where children are baptized.

"Also at Jerusalem, as you go to the Eastern gate, to climb the slope of the Mount of Olives, on the left is the valley, called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where are the vines, and the stone where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ; while on the right is the

palm-tree from which the children plucked the boughs, as Christ entered the city, and strewed them in the way before Him. Not far thence, about a stone's throw, are two monumental columns of wondrous beauty: on one was placed the statue of the prophet Isaiah, a true monolith, and on the other Hezekiah, the king of the Jews. Thence you ascend the Mount of Olives, where the Lord taught His Apostles before His Passion. There a basilica was built by order of Constantine. Not far thence is the mountain whither the Lord went out to pray, when He took with Him Peter and John, and there appeared unto them Moses and Elias. Eastward thence at 1500 paces is a village called Bethany, in which is a crypt where Lazarus was laid, whom the Lord raised to life."

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Note XII. *Description of Jerusalem during the occupation of the Franks, extracted from the Universal Geography of Edrisi, who wrote at the middle of the 12th century.*

"Jerusalem.

"*Beit el-Mocaddas* (Jerusalem) is an illustrious and ancient city, full of ancient monuments. It bears the name of Ilia (*Ælia Capitolina*). Situated on a mountain easy of access on every side," (Edrisi was mistaken, or has been mistranslated), "it extends from West to East. On the West is the gate called *El-Mihrab*; beneath is the cupola of David (to whom God be merciful): on the East the gate called the Gate of Mercy, which is generally shut, being opened only on the Feast of Palms; to the South the gate of *Seihun* (Sion); on the North the gate called the Gate of *'Amud el-Ghorab*. Starting from the western gate, or gate of *El-Mihrab*, you go in an easterly direction by a broad street, till you come to the great Church of the Resurrection, called by Mohammedans *Comamé*. This church is the object of the pilgrimage of Christians from all countries of the East and the West. Entering by the western door you find yourself under a cupola which covers the whole enclosure, and which is one of the most remarkable sights in the world. The church itself is beneath this door, and it is not possible to go down into the lower part of the building on this side; the descent is made on the north side by a door which opens at the top of a long staircase of thirty steps, which door is called *Bâb Sitti Mariam*. At the en[Pg 289]trance of the church the spectator finds the Holy Sepulchre, a building of considerable size, with two doors, and surmounted by a cupola of very solid construction, built with admirable skill; of these two doors one, on the north side, faces the door of S. Mary, the other faces the South, and is called *Bâb es-Salubié* (door of the Crucifixion): on this side is the peristyle of the church, in front of which, towards the east, is another church of considerable size and note, where the Christians celebrate their holy offices and make their prayers and oblations.

"On the east of this church, by a gentle descent, you come to the prison where the Lord Messiah was confined, and to the place where he was crucified. The large dome has a circular opening to the sky, and all round it and in the interior are seen pictures representing the Prophets, the Lord Messiah, S. Mary his mother, and S. John Baptist. Among the lamps which are hung above the Holy Sepulchre are distinguished three which are of gold and are placed in a particular spot. If you leave the principal church, and turn your steps eastward, you will come to the sacred dwelling, which was built by Solomon the son of David, and was a resort of pilgrims in the time of the greatness of the Jews. This temple was subsequently taken from them, and they were driven out of it upon the arrival of the Mohammedans. Under the Moslem supremacy it was enlarged, and is (at this day) the large mosque known to Mohammedans under the name of *Mesjid el-Aksa*. There is none in the world which equals it in size, if you except the great mosque of Cordova in Andalusia: for, as I am told, the roof of that mosque is larger than that of *Mesjid el-Aksa*. To proceed, the area of this latter forms a parallelogram whose length is two hundred fathoms (*ba'a*) and its breadth a hundred and eighty. The half of this space, which is near to the *Mihrab*, is covered by a roof (or rather by a dome) of stone supported by several rows of columns, the rest being open to the sky. In the centre of the building is a large dome, known as the *Dome of the Rock*: it has been ornamented with arabesques in gold, and with other beautiful works, by the care of different Moslem Khalifs. Beneath this is the falling stone. This stone is of a quadrangular form like a shield, one of its extremities rising above the ground to the height of about half a fathom, the other being close to the ground; it is nearly cubical, and its breadth nearly equal to its length, that is to say, about ten cubits (*Zira'a*). Beneath is a cavern, or a dark recess, ten cubits long by five wide, whose height is about six feet. It is entered only by torch-light. The building contains four doors; opposite the western is seen the altar on which the children of Israel offered their sacrifices; near the eastern door is the church called the Holy of Holies, an elegant building; on the south is a chapel which was used by the Mohammedans, but the Christians made themselves masters of it by main force, and it has remained in their power up to the time of the present work (1154 A.D.). They have converted this chapel into a convent, where reside certain members of the order of the Templars, i.e. of the Servants of the House of God. Lastly, the northern door faces a garden well planted with different kinds of trees, and surrounded by columns of marble carved with much skill. At the end of the garden is a refectory for the priests, and for those who are preparing to enter the religious orders.

"Leaving this place of worship, and turning eastward, you will come to the *Gate of Mercy*, shut, as we have just said, but near it is another gate by which you can go in or out, and which is called *Bâb el-Asbat* (or of the tribes of Israel). Within bow-shot from the latter is a very large and very beautiful church under the patronage of S. Mary, known by the name of *Djesmanié*; here is the tomb (of the Virgin) in sight of

the Mount of Olives, about a mile distant from *Bâb el-Asbat*. On the road by which this mountain is ascended is seen another church, large and solidly built, which is called the church of the *Pater Noster*; and on the top is a large church where men and women live a cloister life, awaiting thus the reward of heaven. On the south-east of the mountain is the tomb of Lazarus, who was raised to life by the Lord Messiah; and two miles from Mount Olivet, the village from which was brought the ass on which the Lord rode on his entry into Jerusalem; this village is now deserted and in ruins.

"It is on leaving the tomb of Lazarus that the road begins which leads to the Jordan, which river is distant a day's journey from the Holy City. Before arriving at its banks you will pass the city of *Erikha* (Jericho), three miles distant from the river. Near the Jordan is a large church under the patronage of S. John Baptist, served by Greek monks. The Jordan flows out of the lake of Tiberias, and empties its waters into the lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, cities which the Most High drowned as a punishment for the[Pg 290] wickedness of their inhabitants. To the south of this river is an immense desert.

"As regards the southern side of Jerusalem: leaving the city by the gate of Sion, you find, at the distance of a stone's throw, the Church of Sion, a beautiful church, and fortified, where is seen the chamber in which the Lord Messiah did eat with His disciples, and also the table, which exists to this day, and is to be seen on Thursdays. From the gate of Sion you descend into a ravine well known under the name of the *Valley of Gehenna* (Hinnom), near which is the Church of S. Peter. In this ravine is the fountain of *Selwan* (Siloam), where the Lord Messiah gave sight to a blind man, who had not before known the light of day. To the south of this spring is the field which was bought by the Messiah for the burial of strangers. Not far from it are numerous dwellings cut out in the rock, and occupied by pious hermits."

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Note XIII. I may mention here that one day I caused a trumpet to be played on Gihon, near the present Pool of Mamillah, and the site of the Russian buildings, and I heard it distinctly, while standing myself by the Fountain of Rogel, that is by the well situated at the S.E. extremity of the Valley of Siloam, the *Bir Eyub* (Well of Joab) of the Arabs; while, on changing the position of the player, by sending him more to the N.W., I heard nothing. Accordingly I can confirm in every respect the Bible account (1 Kings i. 41), that Adonijah heard the festive cries of the people and the sound of the trumpets which welcomed the coronation of Solomon.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

Note I. The Haram es-Sherîf cannot be visited without the permission of the Pasha, the Governor of the city, which, though almost always granted, may be delayed for

some days. The Pasha himself never gives permission to enter the sacred enclosure without having first submitted the question to the Council of the Effendis, who always give their consent, not of their own free will, but through fear of displeasing him who makes the request. When all this is arranged, it rests with the keeper of the Haram to appoint the time for the visit: the time fixed is always in the morning, because the place is then almost deserted, and visitors can converse without fear of disturbing the devotion of the worshippers. Travellers must apply for the permission in question, through their respective consulates, and every visitor has to pay a fee to the keeper and to the escort of police who accompany him, to protect him from any insult, which at times would be sure to arise on the part of some bigoted Mohammedan. The payment is fixed by custom at twenty francs. When the visitors do not pay it themselves, the matter is arranged by their respective consuls. The Europeans who are admitted to see the Haram must provide themselves with broad Turkish slippers, or with two pieces of canvas, to cover their ordinary boots; without this precaution, they would meet with every opposition to their being admitted to the places of greater sanctity: they should be careful to carry no cigars with them, and to conduct themselves reverently, because else some complaint might be lodged against them, in which case those who came after them might, through their fault, be refused admission to the ancient summit of Moriah. I speak from experience.

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Note II. I said that by patience, perseverance, and no slight personal sacrifice, I managed to obtain a knowledge of the Haram, because, though I had the required permission, the strong protection of the Pasha, the support of the Effendi, and Mohammedan sympathy, I was nevertheless obliged to be continually satisfying the greed of my escort, and still more of the keeper of the Haram, and, I may add, of his children, with both money and presents. I was obliged also to see them constantly in my apartments, enduring their company apparently unmoved, although they threatened every moment to plunder my goods and eat me up with the little that I possessed. Besides this, it was no rare thing for me to arrange[Pg 291] with the superintendent of the Haram to begin a work, and then have to wait several months before I could finish it, simply owing to the whim of a Mohammedan. Appeal to the Pasha was out of the question, because any violent measure that he might in such case have taken would have resulted in a thousand new difficulties thrown in my way, and I should never have succeeded in my design.

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Note III. There is an unvarying tradition amongst the Arabs that the Holy Rock, *Sakharah*, covered by the dome of the mosque, is the same stone on which slept Israil-Ullah, that is, the patriarch Jacob, and on which he had the vision of the

ladder. Omar himself, when he made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem, caused a search to be made for it, inquiring where the stone was that had served for Jacob's pillow. They agree, moreover, in recognizing in it the ancient foundation of the Temple of Solomon.

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Note IV. The Arabs maintain the belief, that under the Sakharah is a large well (which they call *Bir-el-Arruah*, i.e. *well of souls*) which communicates with the nether world; and there are a thousand Eastern legends relating to it. It may be gathered from all these legends that there is a well of considerable depth, divided into two parts. In the lower part exists the universal fountain, which furnishes water to the whole world, and near it stand the mothers of Jesus and Mohammed working garments for the souls of the righteous. With respect to the two cisterns on the north of the mosque they relate, that in ancient times they served as a receptacle for the drainage, but that subsequently they were cleansed, and that yet, notwithstanding, the waters are not good, nor fit to drink. I shall shew further on for what purposes these ancient cisterns of Araunah's threshing-floor were used in the service of the different Jewish temples.

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Note V. Those who desire more detailed accounts may consult in particular the following works: Jacob Jehuda Leone, *de Templo Hierosolymitano* (in Hebrew), Amsterdam, 1650, in 4to; translated into Latin by Saubert, Helmstad, 1665; the same work in Dutch (*Afbeeldinge van den Tempel Salomonis*), by the Author, Amsterdam, 1679. This author has confused together in the same description the Temple of Solomon and that of Herod. Also Bernard Lami, *de Tabernaculo Fœderis, de Sancta Civitate Jerusalem, et de Templo ejus*, Paris, 1720, in folio; A. Hirt, *der Tempel Salomons*, Berlin, 1809, in 4to; Meyer, *der Tempel Salomons*, Berlin, 1830, in 8vo; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, Tom. II. pp. 661-670.

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Note VI. The *bath*, according to Josephus, is equivalent to an Attic *metretes*, or 72 *xestæ* (sextarii), or about 8 gallons, 5 pints; (see Josephus, *Antiqq.* viii. 2, § 9).

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Note VII. "According to the prophet Jeremiah (xxv. 11)," writes M. Munk (Palestine, p. 461), "the Babylonish captivity was to last 70 years. To obtain this number they make the time fixed by the prophet to date from the year 606, which, according to Jewish writers, is the first of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; and indeed it was in this same year that Jeremiah spoke for the first time of the 70 years during



which the Babylonish government was to last (xxv. 12), a statement which he repeats in the year 599, on the occasion of the banishment of Jehoiachin (xxix. 10). But in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar there was no idea of a Babylonish captivity."

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Note VIII. See Josephus, *Antiqq.* XV. 11, § 1. According to the printed text, the Temple of Zerubbabel wanted 60 cubits of the height of the Temple of Solomon, which is unintelligible. The corrected reading of several Manuscripts, which have "*seven* cubits," is to be preferred. (Cf. Havercamp's edition, Vol. I. p. 778, Note 7.)

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Note IX. The two descriptions of Josephus leave much to be desired, and the numbers appear in many instances to have been corrupted by the copyists. They may be supplemented by a third, and more detailed description, furnished by the *Mishna*, part 5, tract. *Middoth* (published separately, with a Latin translation and notes, by L'empereur, Leyden, 1630, in 4to.). Amongst modern writers the following may be consulted: Lightfoot, [Pg 292] *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani*, in his works, Vol I. pp. 549 and following (chiefly after the *Mishna*); Hirt, in the *Historical and Philological Memoirs of the Berlin Academy for the Years 1816 and 1817* (published in 1819). Hirt has exclusively followed Josephus—his plan has several essential defects; M. Munk has followed that of Wette (*Archäologie*, § 238), which is much more exact, and has combined the accounts of Josephus and the *Mishna*.

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Note X. According to tradition the folding-doors of the Nicanor gate, which were of Corinthian bronze, had been brought from Alexandria by one Nicanor, and miraculously saved from a shipwreck. This gate alone was of bronze; the others were of wood, and plated with gold and silver. See *Mishna*, part 2, tract. *Yoma*, chap. 3, § 10, and the Comments of Maimonides; *Babylonish Talmud*, the same treatise, fol. 38. Compare Josephus' *Wars*, V. 5, § 3.

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Note XI. In the tower *Baris* were kept the pontifical robes, which were worn by the High Priest on solemn days: a practice established by the Asmonean princes, who united in their own persons the chief civil and religious authority.

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Note XII. See Jeremiah lii. 12. According to Rabbinical tradition the burning of the Temple of Solomon began on the ninth of the month Ab in the evening; and it was moreover on the ninth of Ab that the Romans burnt the third temple; accordingly, on this day the Jews, with the exception of the Karaites, keep the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem. Josephus, however (Wars, VI. 4, § 5), agreeing therein with the book of Jeremiah, expressly mentions the tenth day of the month Loüs or Ab. Possibly the date given by the Rabbins, as concerns the third temple, may have been the result of a different calculation of new moons from that of Josephus.

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Note XIII. From the time of Hadrian, the Jews obtained, for a money payment, permission to visit Jerusalem once in the year, there to bewail their humiliation. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. IV. 6. This state of things lasted till the time of S. Jerome: the following words are from his Commentary on Zephaniah, chap. i. "Even to the present day they are forbidden to enter Jerusalem, and buy the permission to weep over the ruins of their city."

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Note XIV. See Gibbon, chap. 23. The silence which is observed on this event by S. Jerome, who arrived in Palestine some years afterwards, is, according to Gibbon, a proof that the pretended miracle had made far less sensation on the spot than at a distance.

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See also Ammian. Marcell. Hist. lib. 23, c. 1; Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, in their respective histories; the fathers of the Church, who were contemporary with the event, admit the miracle, as S. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem. See Clinton, Fasti Rom. A.D. 363.

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Note XV. Some maintain that the building of this basilica is to be attributed to S. Helena; but this opinion is not admissible, for Eusebius who wrote the life of Constantine, makes no mention of it. There are stronger reasons for attributing it to Justinian, according to the account transmitted to us by Procopius, his panegyrist, who gives minute details of its building. See Procopius, de Ædific. Justin. lib. IV. cap. 6.

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Note XVI. Omar found the old site of the threshing-floor of Araunah full of impurities, and was the first to set the example of cleansing it; the followers of

Islam followed his example, and it was then that the Khalif determined upon building a sumptuous mosque over the holy rock.

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Note XVII. William of Tyre, Book I. Chap. 2. "There are, moreover, in the same temple-building, within and without, very old monuments in mosaic work, and in the Arabic character, which are believed to be of that date, in which the author of the work, and the expense of it, and the times at which the work was begun and finished, are evidently set forth:" he adds that the mosque was the work of Omar, "which, after a short time, being completed successfully to his mind, as it exists at this day in Jeru[Pg 293]salem, he (Omar) endowed with many and countless possessions." This author repeats that in the interior, and outside the building, was written the name of Omar its founder. "Moreover, in the beginning of this volume, we have named the author of this building, the son of Catab, who, third from the seducer Mohammed, was his successor in his apostasy and his kingdom: and that this is so the ancient inscriptions inside the said building and outside it plainly declare." (Book VIII. chap. 3.)

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Note XVIII. An Arab chronicler relates, that "Abd-el-Malek, khalif of the dynasty of the Ommiades, gave orders for the construction of the great dome which was then wanting, and sent letters everywhere to inform the Emirs of his intention. Every one commended his design, and the people invoked upon him the blessings of heaven. He set aside for this work the tribute that he collected from Egypt for seven years, and deposited it under the cupola of the so-called throne of David, which he turned for the time into a treasury. The charge of this treasury he entrusted to one Regiah-ben-Havuk, appointing besides, for the superintendence of the works, Jazib-ben-Salem; and a part of the mosque to the east having fallen, while the treasury was short of money, he ordered that the plates of gold with which the dome was ornamented should be converted into coin. This happened in the year 65 of the Hejra, or 684 A.D. The mosque was opened to the public at that time twice a week; on Monday and Thursday. From beneath the Sakharah, the Mohammedans say, rises the spring of the four rivers of the earthly paradise, whose waters have the virtue of washing away the sins of those who drink of them. They believe, moreover, that an angel is appointed to be guardian of the mosque." (Arab MS. in the library of the Kadi at Jaffa.)

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Note XIX. Khondemir, a celebrated Persian historian, who wrote in the fifteenth century, attributes the enlargement of the building to Valid. He is an author worthy of credit. He drew the materials of his history from the famous library of the Emir

*Aly-Schyr*, a virtuoso, and a great protector of letters. The latter, in the year 904 (1498 A.D.), conferred upon him the post of librarian. He it is who tells the story of the cupola at Baalbec.

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Note XX. The invasion of the Carmathians having stopped for a time the pilgrimages to Mecca, the Mosque of Omar took the place of the *Kaaba*, and for more than twenty years the crowds of pilgrims turned their steps towards Jerusalem. This interruption of the pilgrimages began in the year 317 of the Hejra (A.D. 929) under the Khalifate of Al-Moktadar, and lasted till 339 (950). (See D'Herbelot, s. v. Cods.)

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Note XXI. As regards the date of this inscription it is not necessary to calculate rigorously, whether the works of the building took place after that period, or began in that year, seeing that the Turkish and Arab princes date the events of their reign from the day of their accession. It is the same with the coins which are struck through the whole course of their reign.

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Note XXII. A Christian writer, an eye-witness, says, "that under the dome, and in the porch of the mosque the blood ran up to the knees, and up to the snaffles of the horses." Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, Vol. I. p. 443. Fifth edition. Very inappropriately has M. Chateaubriand, in speaking of the Crusades, repeated it as a truth, "that the spirit of Mohammedanism is persecution and conquest, and that the Gospel, on the contrary, preaches only tolerance and peace." The champions of the Cross gave this doctrine the lie, written in blood. The Crusaders hardly remembered even for a few moments that they had come to worship the sepulchre of Christ; after prostrating themselves in the Church of the Resurrection, they turned aside to renew the scenes of butchery, which did not cease for a whole week. More than 70,000 Mohammedans, of every age and sex, were massacred at Jerusalem: the Jews were shut up in their synagogues and burnt. (*Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Tom. IV. p. 12.)

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Note XXIII. This building was consecrated by Albericus, bishop at that time in Syria, whither Pope Innocent II. had sent him as Apostolical Legate. A number of noble and distinguished personages were gathered together to witness the ceremony, among whom is mentioned Jocelin, Count of Edessa, who had come to Jerusalem on the occasion of Easter. "The[Pg 294] legate therefore, having first taken counsel

with the prelates of the churches, on the third day after the holy Passover, together with the patriarch, and some of the bishops, solemnly dedicated the temple of the Lord. There were present on the day of dedication many great and noble men, as well from beyond the seas as from the neighbouring lands, amongst whom was the younger Jocelin, Count of Edessa, who at that time, during the solemn festivals of Eastertide, was residing in great state in the city." (William of Tyre, Book XV. Chap. 17.)

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Note XXIV. It is at this period of the Crusades that the mosque began to be known under the name of "Temple of the Lord," which has often caused many writers to confound this "temple" with that of the Resurrection, otherwise called that of the Holy Sepulchre.

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Note XXV. The behaviour of Saladin to the Christians is deserving of all praise: he gave liberty to a large number of poor persons who could not pay a ransom; he distributed alms to a great number of people; he allowed the Knights Hospitaler to remain at Jerusalem to take charge of their sick; and his brother Malec-Adel paid the ransom of two thousand prisoners. The generous conduct of the Mohammedan chiefs offers, assuredly, an extraordinary contrast to the barbarous excesses committed by the warriors of the first crusade: it is a difficult thing to justify the latter. (See Gibbon, chap. LIX.; Michaud, I. p. 347.)

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Note XXVI. Saladin, before reconverting the "Temple of the Lord" into a mosque, had it wholly cleansed with rose-water, which he had procured from Damascus. Then he removed all the ornaments and whatever else could recall the Christian occupation, and set there himself the pulpit which had been built by Norradin.

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Note XXVII. When the news of the discovery of the fountain spread over Jerusalem, all the people gathered in crowds to see it, but the most eager were the Israelites. They rejoiced at the sight of it, and pressed forward, anxious to touch the rock, to taste the water, or to take a little of it in small pitchers, some in order to preserve it as a relic, others to carry it to the infirm who could not crawl to the spot. From the chief Rabbi to the old women, all ran to the place, and all gave vent to cries of joy, or were moved even to tears. Why was all this? The Israelites were influenced by a tradition deeply graven on their hearts, to the effect that when certain springs in

Jerusalem had been discovered, the coming of Messiah was at hand, the temple should rise again from its ruins, and with it the glory of their nation.

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Note XXVIII. The sites where the stones are found greatest in length and in cubical content in the walls of Jerusalem, are the following:

In the wall, which starts from the line of the eastern enclosure, at the north-east corner of the quadrilateral of the Haram (Plate XVII.); one is found which is about 23 feet in length and 3-1/2 in height.

Between this and the golden gate, in the wall, is another 12 feet long and 5 feet high: and in the inner jamb of the golden gate, on the north, one is found of nearly the same dimensions as the preceding.

At the south-east corner of the Haram there are some of large dimensions; there are none greater in the whole city. Of the stones of 20 cubits in length, and 10 in height, of which Josephus writes (Wars, V. 4, § 2), I have not found a single one on the soil of Jerusalem.

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Note XXIX. It seems that the use of the two gates may be attributed to their being situated in the most frequented part of the city; they served for the passage, the one of persons going out, the other of persons coming in, so as to avoid all crowding, and the stoppages which might result from it. Indeed, on the eastern side of the temple, where a great part of the Court of the Gentiles was, there must always have been a great multitude of people. The real ground for its being closed (though so many ridiculous causes are alleged) is that the Turks consider the temple enclosure sacred in all its parts. Therefore, they do not allow any trade to be carried on there, nor any buying or selling, or transaction of business, or even walking for pleasure: accordingly, the gate on that side becomes entirely useless, the more so, that there is in its neighbourhood the gate of S. Mary.[Pg 295]

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Note XXX. There was a time when the Christians in Palestine adopted the practice of representing the entry of Jesus into the Temple on Palm Sunday, entering Jerusalem in procession by the Golden Gate. The custom may be traced up to the time of Godfrey of Bouillon. On this subject the reader may consult, as contemporary authorities, Albert of Aix (Book XIII. Chap. 17) and William of Tyre (Book VIII. Chap. 3, and Book XI. Chap. 35).

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Note XXXI. In the times of Alberto Floresi, an Italian traveller who visited Jerusalem in 1630, it was by the Dung gate (called also the gate of the Mogarabins) that the procession entered, which some centuries before, as I mentioned above, starting from Bethphage, and crossing the Mount of Olives, passed through the Golden Gate. (MS. Travels of Floresi, communicated to the Abbé Mariti by Dr Octavio Targioni Tozzetti, L'État présent de Jérusalem, p. 21.)

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Note XXXII. The Mohammedans say that the mare el-Borak was the steed ordinarily ridden by the Angel Gabriel, who used often to lend it to Mohammed to take his night-journeys. They portray it as having the head and the neck of a beautiful woman, with a crown and wings.

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Note XXXIII. Many are the stories which are told of the Golden Gate, as well by Mohammedans as by Christians: I quote some of them.

The Mohammedans say that the two divisions of the Golden Gate were made in memory of the *repentance* of Adam and Eve, for having disobeyed the orders which God had given them in Paradise, and at the same time of the *mercy* of God shown towards them. Hence they call the southern aisle the Gate of *Mercy*, and the other, the Gate of *Repentance*.

There is a general belief amongst Mohammedans that a day will come when Jerusalem will fall into the hands of a Christian prince, who will take it on a Friday. This is one of the reasons why it remains a fortified town.

The Christians have no less traditions on this head. For example, they report, that when the Emperor Heraclius returned victorious to Jerusalem, bringing back thither the wood of the Holy Cross which he had recovered in Persia, he wished to pass through the Golden Gate on horseback, and decked out in all the insignia of royalty, but that an invisible hand held him back, whilst a voice ordered him to dismount, to divest himself of his regal robes, and to pass that threshold in all humility; whereupon he was able to pass.

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Note XXXIV. "From Sion (we went) to the Church of St Mary, where is a large body of monks, and countless companies of women, and where beds for the sick can be provided, from three to five thousand. And we offered up prayer in the judgment-hall, where the Lord had hearing, in which is now the Church of S. Sophia. Before the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, under the street, there runs

water from the Fountain of Siloam. Near Solomon's porch, in the church itself, is the seat on which Pilate sate, when he heard the Lord. There is a square stone on which the accused was elevated, that He might be heard and seen by all. On it was our Lord raised when He had hearing of Pilate, and there remained an impression of a small, handsome, and delicate foot. By the rock itself, too, many miracles are wrought: they take the measure of the foot-print, and tie it over a weak part, which is immediately healed." (Anton. Placent. Itin. Sect. 23 in Ugolini, Thes. Tom. VII. page 1216.)

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Note XXXV. In the year 1118 Hugues de Payens, and Geoffroid de St Aldemar, and certain other knights, applied for a rule for the formation of an order. In 1128 the Pope Honorius gave them a charter, which was adopted at the Council of Troyes in Champagne. The members of this order took the name of Templars, and wore a white robe with a red cross. Their name was derived from their having their first house close to the temple, for King Baldwin had given up to them a part of his palace, to the south of the temple. (William of Tyre, Book XII. Chap. 7.)

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Note XXXVI. The Mohammedans say that in this place King David, during his life, administered justice in the following way. When he was sitting in judgment, and wished to know if the deponents in their examination were stating what was true, he made a chain descend from heaven, and ordered that each of the two parties who had thus stated their cases should[Pg 296] touch it. When one of the parties had told a lie, at his touch a ring fell from the chain, and so the wise king learnt which was in the right. I may be allowed to remark that now the chain no longer descends from heaven, so we may conclude that all the rings have fallen, from its having been too much used.

It is on this same site that David will return to judge the people of Israel at the final judgment.

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Note XXXVII. The keeper of the mosque relates, that when Solomon wished to build a Temple to the Lord, he called not only men to his aid, but also the living creatures of the earth. All came together to help him with all their power; but the *magpie* sought to disobey Solomon, whereupon the great King turned it into stone, to be an example to all those who were disposed not to execute his orders. This is the stone that the keeper shews.

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Note XXXVIII. The mosaics which adorn the interior of the mosque *es-Sakharah* above the pointed arches that spring from the columns, and in the drum which supports the dome, date, according to Mohammedan Chronicles, from the time of Selim I. and Solyman, but I imagine they are of still greater antiquity. The internal ornamentation of the dome has a thoroughly Saracenic character; I conclude that it is perhaps anterior to Solyman, though there is no doubt that he restored it a good deal. All the other decorations are of Solyman's time. The Count de Vogüé has just completed a long examination of the mosques *es-Sakharah*, and *el-Aksa*, and we may fairly expect that he, with his clear judgment, and ready intelligence, will not deprive science of the result of his labours.

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Note XXXIX. The Mohammedan traditions concerning this rock are numerous; I quote a few of them. It has been the scene of the prayers of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, Mohammed, and many other prophets, and here they have received their inspiration from heaven. The rock retains the imprint of the foot of the patriarch Enoch, who was the handsomest, and the wisest man that lived upon the earth. He was learned in astronomy, in which he made great discoveries, and, to publish them, invented printing. God loved him so that he would not let him die, but translated him to heaven. The patriarch had such an attachment to Jerusalem, that he wished to leave some memorial of his having lived there, which accounts for his foot-print being there.

The rock is guarded by an army of Angels, who keep watch there night and day, in prayer to God. The canvas covering which is found on the rock is the same which was used by Adam and Eve, when the former found the latter after their separation of a hundred years, consequent on their expulsion from Paradise.

The stairs which lead into the vaults of the mosque contain the stone called *the tongue*, because it announced to Omar, that this was the rock on which Jacob had the vision.

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Note XL. The Mohammedans say that it is supported in the air by the following cause. When Mohammed died, and ascended to heaven, the sacred stone wished to follow him, but the prophet ordered it to return to its place; whilst it hesitated the angel Gabriel pressed it down (this is the reason why they show the impression of his five fingers on the rock), and then it lowered itself again; but when it was already in contact, as it were, with the ground, and received no further orders, it remained in the position in which it is now found.

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Note XLI. By the side of the *Minbar*, the Mohammedan guide, with all seriousness, points out the place where is an invisible balance, which is called *Wezn*, and tells how at the end of the world there will be three ages: and then Israfil, who has charge of the celestial trumpet (called *Boru*), will blow it the first time to give notice of the universal death. It will sound for the second time 40 years afterwards, and then all the dead of past ages shall rise: on that day Jesus, with the other prophets, will descend from heaven with their attendants, and when they have come to the *Haram es-Sherîf* Jesus will sit upon His throne for judgment: but not being sufficient in Himself for all, He will depute David and Solomon to judge the Jews, Mohammed to judge the Mohammedans, and will retain the Christians for His own jurisdiction. In this great Judgment the balance *Wezn* will be used to decide who are to enjoy eternal felicity, and who to be punished by being appointed their portion for ever in[Pg 297] fire with the fallen spirits. All those who are to undergo this trial will be gathered together in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

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Note XLII. Terrace-roofs have always been in general use in the East, even for ages; compare Judges xvi. 27, where we are told that there were people on the roof when Samson made the temple of Dagon fall. Assuredly if it had not been flat, 3000 persons could not have remained upon it.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

Note I. The Holy City, by the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Second Edition, including an Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, by the Rev. Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge, 2 Vols. 8vo. 1849; Les Églises de la Terre Sainte, par le Comte Melchior de Vogüé.

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Note II. List of the bishops of Jerusalem, extracted from Michel le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. III. pp. 139 sq. Paris, 1740.

A.D

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30. S. James, the Apostle and brother of our Lord.

60. S. Simeon, or Simon, the Martyr.

107. Justus, or Jude I.

111. Zacchæus, or Zacharias.

Tobias.

Benjamin.

John I.

Matthias, or Matthew.

Philip.

125. Seneca.

Justus II.

Levi.

Ephraim.

Joseph.

Jude II.

All the above are of Hebrew extraction. The following are of Gentile origin. The former were bishops of Jerusalem, properly so called, the latter bishops of Ælia Capitolina, who are counted as bishops of Jerusalem.

136. Marcus.

156. Cassianus.

Publius.

Maximus I.

Julian I.

Caius I., or Gaius.

Symmachus.

Caius II.

Julian II.

Capito.

185. Maximus II.

Antoninus.

Valens.

Dolichianus.

Narcissus.

Dius.

Germanion.

Gordius.

Narcissus (a second time).

212. Alexander, martyr.

250. Mazabanes.

265. Hymenæus.

298. Zabdas.

302. Hermon.

313. Macarius I. During his episcopate Constantine laid the foundations of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem.

335. Maximus III., who consecrated the Church of the Resurrection.

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Note III. Eusebius, Life of Constantine, book III. chap. 27 and following (English Translation, Bagster and Sons, London, 1845). After giving an account of the demolition of the temple of Venus, he proceeds, "Nor did the Emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was then destroyed should be removed, and thrown as far[Pg 298] from the spot as possible; and this command was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardour, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil, which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship, transported to a far distant place. This also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a most faithful similitude of His return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene."

Chap. XXXI. (*Continuation of a Letter from Constantine to the Bishop Macarius.*)  
"It will be well therefore for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Prætorian Prefects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and labourers, ... shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever materials, and in whatever quantity we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required. With respect to the roof of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgment it should be ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold."



Chap. XXXIII. "This was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought upon it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death."

Chap. XXXIV. &c. *Description of the Holy Sepulchre*. "This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind. The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely-polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticoes of great length. For at the side opposite to the Sepulchre, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colours; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones, accurately fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendour in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured fretwork, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and being overlaid throughout with the purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

"Besides this were two porticoes on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticoes, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive those who entered the church.

"Opposite these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere," (apparently an altar of a hemicylindrical form,) "which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns, (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour,) having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

"In the next place, he enclosed the atrium which[Pg 299] occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticoes on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these in the midst of the open market-place, the entrance gates of the whole work, which were

of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers by on the outside a view of the interior, which could not fail to inspire astonishment."

Such is Eusebius' account of the first Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem: he makes no mention of Calvary, and I make no doubt that, if its site had then been discovered, the historian of Constantine would not have passed it over without notice.

An eye-witness of the magnificence of Constantine's Church is found in the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited Jerusalem about 333 or 334. He speaks of it in his description of the Holy City, quoted in the notes to the first chapter.

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Note IV. *Description of S. Arculf, who visited the Holy places in 680* (Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæc. III. part 2, p. 504).

"On these points we have inquired very particularly of S. Arculf, and specially concerning the Sepulchre of our Lord, and the church erected over it, the plan of which he drew for us upon a waxen tablet. It is a large church built entirely of stone, forming a perfect circle, and rising from its foundations with three walls. Between each pair of walls is a broad space forming a corridor, and at three points in the middle wall are three altars of wonderful workmanship. This round church is occupied by the three altars above mentioned, one facing the south, another the north, and the third towards the west. It is supported by twelve stone columns of wondrous size. It has eight doors, or entrances, through the three walls with the corridors intervening, four of which doors face the south-east, while the rest face the east. In the middle space of the inner circle is a round grotto cut in the solid rock, in which nine men can pray standing, and the roof of which is about a foot and a half above the head of a man of ordinary stature. The entrance to this grotto is on the eastern side, and the whole of the exterior is covered with choice marble, the apex being adorned with gold, and supporting a golden cross of considerable size. Within, on the north side of this grotto, is the tomb cut out of the same rock: but the floor of the grotto is lower than the level of the tomb, for from the former to the lateral margin of the tomb is a height of about three palms.

"In this place we must mention a discrepancy of names between the monument and the tomb; for the round grotto mentioned above is otherwise called the Monument of the Evangelist: and they say, that to the mouth of this the stone was rolled, and from it rolled away, at our Lord's resurrection; while the name of sepulchre is applied to the chamber within the grotto that is on the north side of the monument, in which the Lord's body lay wrapt in fine linen. The length of this S. Arculf measured with his own hands, and found it to be seven feet. This tomb is not, as some persons wrongly imagine, divided in two by a stone cut out of the wall, itself

forming a space for two legs and thighs, by coming between and separating them; but is undivided from the head to the foot, with sufficient room for one man lying upon his back, so forming a kind of cavern with an entrance at the side opposite to the south part of the monumental chamber. It has a low apex projecting above it, carved in the rock, and contains twelve lamps burning continually day and night, corresponding to the number of the twelve apostles. Four of these are placed at the foot of the sepulchral couch, and the other eight towards the head, on the right hand side, all of them being constantly fed with oil.

"As to the stone which after our Lord's crucifixion and burial was rolled to the mouth of the said monument by the united efforts of many men, Arculf relates that he found it broken in two parts. The lesser part, squared by the chisel, forms the altar which stands before the entrance of the aforesaid round church, while the larger, also chiselled like the former, is the square altar, covered with linen cloths, on the eastern side of the same.

"As regards the colours of the stone out of which the aforementioned grotto is hollowed by the tools of the stone-workers, with the Lord's Sepulchre on its north side cut from the same rock as the grotto itself, Arculf told me in answer to my questions, that the said grotto of the monument of our Lord, being covered with no ornament within, bears to this day upon its vaulted surface the marks of the tools used by the masons and stone-workers in the work: but the colour of the said stone appears not to be uniform, but a mixture of two, to wit, red and white, and the said stone is shewn as the stone of two colours.[Pg 300]

"This round church, so often mentioned above, which is called the Anastasis, or Resurrection, and is built on the spot which witnessed our Lord's resurrection, is joined on the right by a square church dedicated to S. Mary the mother of God.

"Moreover another large church is built on the eastern side on the spot which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha: from the ceiling of which is suspended by ropes a brazen wheel with lamps, and beneath it is a large silver cross fixed in the very place where stood the wooden cross on which the Saviour of the human race suffered.

"Adjoining this square-built church on the site of Calvary, on the east, is the famous stone church built with great magnificence by the Emperor Constantine, and called the Martyrdom, erected, as they say, in the place where the cross of our Lord and the other two crosses were found by divine revelation, two hundred and thirty-three years after they had been buried. Between these two churches is the famous spot where the patriarch Abraham built an altar, and laid upon it the bundle of wood, and seized the sword already drawn from its scabbard to sacrifice his son Isaac;

where is now a wooden table of moderate size, on which the offerings of the people for the poor are deposited.

"Between the Anastasis or round church so often mentioned above, and the basilica of Constantine, a short open street extends to the church on Golgotha, in which are lamps burning night and day. Also between the basilica on Golgotha and the Martyrdom is a seat, in which is the cup of the Lord, which, after blessing it with His own hand during the supper before His passion, He Himself handed to the Apostles that sate at meat with Him. It is a silver cup, holding about a French quart, and having two handles set over against each other on opposite sides. In this cup is the sponge, which they that crucified our Lord filled with vinegar, and put upon hyssop, and held up to His mouth. From this same cup, it is said that our Lord drank in company with His Apostles after His resurrection."

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Note V. *Extracts from the description of Sæwulf.* (Translated in Mr Wright's "Early Travels in Palestine.")

"The entrance to the city of Jerusalem is from the west, under the citadel of King David, by the gate which is called the Gate of David. The first place to be visited is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called the Martyrdom, not only because the streets lead most directly to it, but because it is more celebrated than all the other churches.... In the middle of this church is our Lord's Sepulchre, surrounded by a very strong wall and roof, lest the rain should fall upon the Holy Sepulchre, for the church above is open to the sky.... In the court of the church of our Lord's Sepulchre are seen some very holy places, namely, the prison in which our Lord Jesus Christ was confined after He was betrayed, according to the testimony of the Assyrians; then, a little above, appears the place where the holy cross and the other crosses were found, where afterwards a large church was built in honour of Queen Helena, which however has since been utterly destroyed by the Pagans; and below, not far from the prison, stands the marble column to which our Lord Jesus Christ was bound in the common hall, and scourged with most cruel stripes. Near this is the spot where our Lord was stripped of His garments and clad in a purple robe by the soldiers, and crowned with the crown of thorns, and they parted His raiment amongst them, casting lots. Next we ascend Mount Calvary, where the patriarch Abraham raised an altar, and prepared, by God's command, to sacrifice his own son; there afterwards the Son of God, whom he prefigured, was offered up as a sacrifice to God the Father for the redemption of the world. The rock of that mountain remains a witness of our Lord's passion, being much cracked near the hole, in which our Lord's cross was fixed, because it could not suffer the death of its Maker without rending, as we read in the Passion, 'and the rocks rent.' Below is the place called Golgotha, where Adam is said to have been raised from the dead by the

stream of the Lord's blood which fell upon him, as is said in the Lord's Passion, 'And many bodies of the saints which slept arose.' But in the Sentences of S. Augustine, we read that he was buried at Hebron, where also the three patriarchs were afterwards buried with their wives; Abraham with Sarah, Isaac with Rebecca, and Jacob with Leah; as also the bones of Joseph which the children of Israel carried with them from Egypt. Near the place of Calvary is the church of S. Mary, on the spot where the body of our Lord, after having been taken down from the cross, was anointed with spices and wrapt in a linen cloth or shroud.

"At the head of the church of the Holy Sepulchre,[Pg 301] in the wall outside, not far from the place of Calvary, is the place called *Compas*, which our Lord Jesus Christ Himself signified and measured with his own hands as the middle of the world, according to the words of the Psalmist, 'For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.' Some say that this is the place where our Lord Jesus Christ first appeared to Mary Magdalene, while she sought Him weeping, and thought He had been a gardener, as is related in the Gospel.

"These most holy places of prayer are contained in the court of our Lord's Sepulchre, on the east side. In the sides of the church itself are attached, on one side and the other, two most beautiful chapels in honour of S. Mary and S. John, who, sharing in our Lord's sufferings, stationed themselves one on each side of Him. On the west wall of the chapel of S. Mary is seen the portrait of the mother of our Lord, who once, by speaking wonderfully through the Holy Spirit, in the form in which she is here painted, comforted Mary the Egyptian, when she repented with her whole heart, and sought the help of the mother of our Lord, as we read in her life.

"On the other side of the church of S. John is a very fair monastery of the Holy Trinity, in which is the place of the baptistery, to which adjoins the chapel of S. James the Apostle, who first filled the pontifical chair at Jerusalem. These are all so composed and arranged, that any one standing in the furthest church may clearly scan the five churches from door to door.

"Without the gate of the Holy Sepulchre, to the south, is the church of S. Mary, called the Latin, because the monks there perform divine service in the Latin tongue; and the Assyrians say that the blessed mother of our Lord, at the crucifixion of her Son, stood on the spot now occupied by the altar of this church. Adjoining this church is another church of S. Mary, called the Less, occupied by nuns who serve devoutly the Virgin and her Son. Near which is the Hospital, where is a celebrated monastery founded in honour of S. John the Baptist."

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Note VI. William of Tyre, VIII. 3. "On the eastern slope of the same hill is the Church of the Resurrection in the form of a rotunda, which being situated on the

slope, and almost over-topped by the hill close to it, and so darkened, has a roof composed of beams placed upright, and wrought together by wondrous art into the shape of a crown, uncovered, and always open, by which the necessary light is conveyed into the church. Under this opening is the tomb of our Saviour. Beyond the entrance for the Latins is the scene of our Lord's passion, which is called Calvary, or Golgotha; where it is said that the wood of the life-giving cross was found, and where our Saviour's body, having been taken down from the cross, is said to have been embalmed with spices and wrapt in fine linen, as was the Jews' custom of burial. Beyond the limits of the Calvary aforesaid are many small houses of prayer. But after that the Christians, by the help of the divine goodness, occupied the city with a strong hand, the aforesaid building appeared to them too contracted, and by enlarging the church with most solid and excellent work, and enclosing the old building within the new, they succeeded wonderfully in putting together in one the aforementioned places."

John of Würzburg, who visited the Holy Land in the twelfth century, when the Crusaders had already completed their works in the Church of the Resurrection, has transmitted to us a valuable detailed description, the principal passages of which I quote: "Whilst everything was in preparing for the crucifixion," he says, "our Lord was kept bound in a place at some distance from Calvary, which served as a prison: this place is marked by a chapel, and is called to this day the prison of our Lord, and is on the side opposite to Calvary, on the left of the church.... To the right of the entrance in the greater church is a place forming a portion of Calvary, in whose upper part is shewn a rent in the rock. In the same is depicted in fine mosaic work the Passion of Christ, and His burial, together with the testimony of the prophets, agreeing on all sides with the fact.

"In the middle of the choir, not far from the site of Calvary, is a spot where an altar has been formed of raised slabs of marble, supported by a trellis of iron. Beneath these slabs are some small circles traced in the pavements, which, they say is the centre of the earth, according to the saying, 'In the middle of the earth He hath wrought salvation.'

"A building of large dimensions, erected in a circular form round the monument, has at its further end a continuous wall adorned by different statues, and lighted by several lamps. In the inner circle of this larger building are eight round columns, on square[Pg 302] bases, adorned on the outside with the same number of square slabs of marble, and erected all round the building, so as to sustain the weight of the building and the roof, which, as we have said, is open in the middle.

"We have said that the columns are placed round the building to the number above mentioned, but towards the east their positions and number have been altered, owing to the addition of a new building, which has its entrance-door on that side.



This new church, just added, contains a wide and roomy choir, and a spacious chapel, in which is the high altar, consecrated to the honour of the Anastasis, or Resurrection, as the mosaic above it distinctly proves. For in it Christ is depicted as having broken the bars of hell, and rising again from the dead, and as bringing back thence our first father Adam. Without this chapel, and within the cloisters, is a wide corridor leading round the new building and also the older building of the monument aforesaid, suited for a procession. At the head of the said new church, towards the east and close to the choir-screen, is a well-lighted subterranean passage like a crypt, in which Queen Helena is said to have found our Lord's cross. Accordingly there is within an altar dedicated to the honour of the said S. Helena. The greater part of the sacred wood she took with her to Constantinople, the remainder however was left at Jerusalem, and is carefully and reverently kept in a certain place on the other side of the church opposite to Calvary."

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Note VII. The whole of the dome has been covered with sheet-lead, which has disappeared on the south-west side (Plate XXXI.), where are the Greek terrace-roofs. Consequently the damp is every day destroying the wooden supports, and in the absence of such covering the ground below is flooded in the rainy season. Throughout the rest of its circumference, on the side of the Mohammedan terrace, the dome is in good condition, and the lead is intact. Why then, it may be asked, is it thus damaged only on the side belonging to the Greeks? We are told in reply, that the wind detaches the sheets of lead, (which, be it observed, are fastened by nails,) and carries them away; but it must be remarked that it is the north wind only, and not the others, which blows with great force over the city. It may be inferred from this how necessary it is that the whole covering of the Holy Sepulchre should belong exclusively to the church, and that no one should come near it or use it, in which case disputes would diminish, and the interior of the building would be less injured by damp.

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Note VIII. The two gates, the one on the west, the other on the east, through which the square in front of the Church of the Resurrection is reached, are very narrow and low, so that strangers are surprised to find such a form used in places frequented by many visitors. This is not the work of the Mohammedans, but was done by agreement of the different religious bodies, in order to prevent beasts of burden from penetrating into these sacred places. Without some such precaution their owners, and especially the camel-drivers, would not fail to instal them there for the night, simply because of the convenient situation of the square. Besides this, these two gates form the barrier for the Jews of Jerusalem, beyond which they cannot pass without exposing themselves to insults, and perhaps to blows, or even

worse, from the Christians of Jerusalem, who imagine the place profaned by the passing of a Jew: though they themselves think nothing of behaving irreverently while the holy offices are being celebrated. If, however, a Jew is accompanied by some one who can inspire them with fear or respect, these good Christians will perhaps mutter and grumble, but venture no further. If a slight *bakshish* be administered, they will even salute him, and call their correligionists a set of ignoramuses, though they themselves held the same views before receiving *bakshish*.

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Note IX. The fact that there is only one entrance to the Church of the Resurrection is the cause of many serious accidents at times when there is any great gathering of people, particularly at Easter. This is especially the case when the times of the celebration of this festival by the different sects coincide. During the eight years which I spent at Jerusalem, not an Easter passed without some such casualty. Some were suffocated; some fainted in the crush, were trampled upon, and received serious injuries; some had their limbs broken. These accidents are constantly repeated, yet no one ever thinks of taking any means to avoid them, though it would be so easy to open the other door. It is well known how in 1836 Ibrahim Pasha attended the Greek service of the Holy Fire,[Pg 303] and a quarrel arose betwixt the Greeks and the Armenians: the whole multitude sought some way of escape, and such was the crowding at this the only single door, that the conqueror got out with much difficulty by passing over thirty dead bodies that lay there, the victims of the crush. (See Curzon's Monasteries of the Levant, chap. 16.)

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Note X. The following is Edrisi's account of the western gate. "The church is entered by the western gate, and the traveller finds himself under the cupola, which covers the whole of the enclosure, and which is one of the most remarkable things in the world. The church is lower than this door, and it is not possible to descend to the lower part on this side of the building. Entrance is to be had on the north side by a door which opens at the head of a staircase of thirty steps, which door is called Bâb-Sitti Mariam."

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Note XI. The Abbé Mariti, who visited the Sepulchre before the fire of 1808, found in Adam's Chapel, on the right, the tomb of Godfrey de Bouillon, and on the left, opposite the former, the tomb of Baldwin I., his successor; they were of marble, or of a kind of stone which much resembles it[\[900\]](#). The following is the inscription on Godfrey's tomb:

HIC JACET  
INCLITUS DUX GODEFRIDUS DE BULLON  
QUI TOTAM TERRAM AQUISIVIT  
CULTUI KRANO CUI ANIMA REGNET CUM XRO  
AMEN.

*Here lies the illustrious Captain Godfrey de Bouillon, who won all this land for the Christian faith. May his soul reign with Christ. Amen.*

That engraved on Baldwin's tomb is as follows:—

REX BALDEWINUS  
IUDAS ALTER MACHABEUS. SPES PATRIE VIGOR  
ECCLIE VIRT' UTRIUSQ' QUEM FORMIDABANT  
CUI DONA TRIBUTA FEREBANT CEDAR EGYPT' DAN.  
AC HOMICIDA DAMASCUS  
PROH DOLOR  
IN MODICO CLAUDITUR HOC TUMULO.

*King Baldwin, a second Judas Maccabæus, the hope of his country, the strength of the Church, the mainstay of both, to whom Kedar, Egypt, Dan and the murderous Damascus in fear brought gifts and tribute, is pent up, alas! within this narrow tomb.*

He also found in the same chapel an old tomb without any inscription, fastened into the wall, which he was told was the *tomb of Melchizedek*. It is known that the place was formerly intended to serve as a burial-place for the Latin kings, and we are assured, says the Abbé, that besides Godfrey and Baldwin I., there have since been buried there Baldwin II., Baldwin III., Almericus I. (Amaury), Baldwin IV., and Baldwin V. The tomb of the last-mentioned still exists amongst those which are to be seen in the neighbourhood against the south side of the choir of the Greeks, i.e. opposite to the Stone of Unction, on the north side. On it is the following inscription:—

SEPTIM' IN TUMULO PUER ISTO REX TUMULAT'  
EST BALDEVINI REGUM DE SANGUINE NAT'.  
QUEM TULIT E MUNDO SORS PRIMÆ CONDITIONIS  
UT PARADISIACÆ LOCA POSSIDEAT REGIONIS[901].

*"Within this tomb rests a youthful king, the seventh of a line of kings sprung from Baldwin; whom the common lot has carried off from the world to inhabit the regions of paradise."* Histoire de l'État présent de Jérusalem, par l'Abbé Mariti, publiée par le R. P. Laorty Hadji, Paris, 1853, pp. 56, 57.

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Note XII. William of Tyre refers to a place where our Lord's body is said to have been embalmed (Book VIII. Chap. 3. See Note VI.).

Sanutus, who wrote in the fourteenth century, speaks of this place, but puts it in the middle of the choir of the Greeks, far from that of which we are now speaking. (Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis, lib. III. p. 14, cap. 8.)

Nicetas Choniata<sup>[902]</sup>, a writer of the twelfth century, in his eighth book, relates that the stone on which Christ's body was embalmed, was to be seen in his time at Ephesus, whither the Emperor Manuel Comnenus had carried it on his own shoulders from the gate of Bucoleon to the chapel which was within the precincts of the palace, and that after the death of that emperor it was removed thence and placed[Pg 304] in his tomb. Nicetas says that the stone is of a red hue; it seems more probable therefore that it had formed part of Calvary itself, or of some smooth rock near the sepulchre.

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Note XIII. I quote the most important passages relating to the Holy Sepulchre, properly so called, which was carefully examined by the Abbé Mariti, before it was all covered over as it is at present.

"The Holy Sepulchre, placed at the centre of the building, is a block of stone, which forms part of the soil, so hewn as to be quite separate from the rest of the hill.

"In the terrace-roof of the Sepulchre holes have been ingeniously formed to let out the smoke from the lamps in the interior.

"The sacred grotto is divided into two parts; the first is the Chapel of the Angel; its eastern side, in which is the entrance-door, being built of materials prepared by human hands, while the rest forms part of the solid rock. There we saw a socle of stone, nearly square, embedded in the rock, at the length of a cubit and a half from the gate of the Holy Sepulchre, which is to the west of it: it served formerly as a support to the stone which used to close the entrance of the Sepulchre. Inside the Sepulchre is found a basin, hewn out with the chisel in the rock, of three cubits and a sixth in length; its height four cubits five soldi, in the middle; and on the sides, where it bends in forming a circular arc, three cubits five soldi. Its breadth from north to south is not equal throughout, being at the eastern end three cubits three soldi and one-third, and at the west two cubits sixteen soldi and two-thirds. The bench on which the Saviour's body was laid is three cubits and a third long, and about two cubits and a third broad, raised one cubit and one inch from the ground." (L'État présent de Jérusalem, p. 66.)

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Note XIV. Before I give the description of the way in which the festival of the Holy Fire is celebrated, I will quote the account given of it in Abulfaragii (or Barhebræi) *Chronicum Syriacum*, Lips. 1789, 2 Vols. 4to. pp. 215-220.

"The originator of this persecution (that is, the persecution of Hakem when he destroyed the Sepulchre in 1010) was some enemy of the Christians[\[a\]](#), who told Hakem: When the Christians meet in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to keep Easter, the ministers of the Church employ a particular artifice, viz. they anoint with oil and with balsam the iron chain by which the lamp above the Sepulchre is suspended; and when the Arab official has fastened the door of the Sepulchre, they place the fire at the end of the iron chain, reaching it from the roof; the chain descends immediately with it till it reaches the match, and is ignited. Then they break into tears and cry *Kyrie Eleison* as they see the fire falling from heaven upon the tomb, and so strengthen themselves in their faith."

Another account is transmitted to us by Aretas, of Cæsarea, who gives certain information concerning it, under the name of Leo the Philosopher to an Arab Vizir. He says: "To this day the sacred and much-worshipped Sepulchre of Christ works a miracle every year on the day of the Resurrection; when every fire in Jerusalem has been put out, the Christians prepare a candle, and place it within the monument near the Holy Sepulchre. The Emir of Jerusalem[\[b\]](#) closes the door, and while the Christians stand outside crying *Kyrie Eleison*, a lamp appears, and at once the candle is lighted by its flame. Then all the inhabitants rekindle their fires in their houses by means of other candles lighted at this one."

### *The Holy Fire of the Greeks and the Holy Sabbath of the Armenians at Jerusalem.*

In an age like the present, it is well that we should put on record those acts and customs by which the name of civilization is profaned, especially where they[Pg 305] mask themselves under the name of religion. For if this be done, those who have it in their power to stop and to suppress them, cannot plead ignorance in excuse of the neglect of their duty.

The Holy Sabbath is a kind of festival or revel held round the Sepulchre of our Lord, and continues from ten o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon. First of all, the Greek bishop takes his stand inside the Sepulchre, while the pilgrims and the resident Greeks and Armenians form a procession round the tomb, stamping and clapping their hands, and shouting in a loud voice, *El Messiah atannah, u bidammu astarana: Mahna el jom faratra u el jahudie hazana*. "The Messiah came to us and redeemed us with His blood; to-day we rejoice, and the Jews are sad." The excitement increases with the shouting, until the greater part of the

multitude appear to be intoxicated, and rush to and fro, as in a state of frenzy, with the wildest cries and gesticulations. Some throw their heads about violently, their hair floating in wild disorder, and the foam streaming from their mouths, like men possessed. Some mounting on each other's shoulders form themselves into living human columns, and then suddenly fling themselves in the midst of the excited throng. Others feign to be dead, and their companions carry them round the building, singing funeral hymns and uttering their wonted cries of mourning. Here is a party in high dispute, there a company fighting and wrestling, while a third, and far the most numerous band, is madly pressing towards the two oval holes through which the fire issues from the Sepulchre, the one at the north, the other at the south end of the monument. Meanwhile the government guards, or *Cavas*, attempt to re-establish order by lashing out right and left with their tough whips of hippopotamus hide. Everywhere is uproar and confusion, shouting and stamping, as of madmen. When this has gone on for four or five hours, a small flame at length makes its appearance at each of the holes above mentioned. The bishop, concealed within the Sepulchre, having received *from heaven* the sacred fire, communicates it to the expectant worshippers, who have awaited its coming with such devotion. The mind cannot conceive, nor words describe the scene which then ensues; the din, the crush, the struggling, each to be among the first to receive the light. He who is nearest to the hole, and so the first to light his candle, has probably paid dearly for the privilege; so high does the competition run and such is the importance attached to gaining the prize. Many pilgrims come from great distances, incurring all the hardships and expense of a protracted journey merely to receive the Holy Fire. As soon as they have received it, and carefully secured it in their lanterns, they return home, having accomplished the sole purpose of their pilgrimage, and caring nothing for the other festivities of Easter-tide.

Surraya Pasha, induced thereto by the urgent representations of M. de Barrère, the French Consul in Palestine, has taken measures to prevent any recurrence of the serious disorders which so frequently arose in former times in connexion with this festival. Since he has been governor, the time allowed for this desecration of the Holy Places has been shortened, and the murderous quarrels which before prevailed are no longer known. Would it not be more worthy of modern civilization to stop it altogether? the Greek and Armenian pilgrimages to Jerusalem would then, in all probability, cease.

[\[a\]](#)

See Silv. de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Book I. pp. cccxxxvi. and foll. The author mentions other details of the origin and the motives of Hakem's fury against the Christians, given by Severus. This Coptic Arab author attributes the origin of it to a monk named John, who was ambitious of becoming bishop.



[b]

In our time the door of the Sepulchre is closed, after a Greek bishop, who is called *Bishop of the Fire*, has entered. We do not know whether the miracle in present times is produced by a lamp concealed in the walls of the Sepulchre, or by a preparation of phosphorus: but they that wait for the appearance of the fire are as credulous, or pretend to be so, as the Christians of the time of Aretas.

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Note XV. I have as strong objections to the service celebrated by the Franciscans on the evening of Good Friday, as to that of the Holy Fire. Like the latter, it gives rise to disputes, tumults, and serious disorders; and besides, there is in it an utter absence of decorum. Generally speaking, it has none of the impressive effect of a religious ceremony, but rather excites a feeling of the ridiculous, when it does not result in mourning for some fatal accident. How it is that the Franciscan fathers have not done away with it, or modified it, I cannot understand. To hold a service in a church to which persons of all sects are admitted, and to think that men's hearts can be reached by it, is an utter mistake. When no one is carried out of the building dead or wounded, they say with a satisfied air, "*The service has passed off well;*" little thinking of the exertions that are required to make it pass off well. A battalion of infantry is drawn up under arms in the square of the Sepulchre, and supplies the guards in the interior of the church; all the officers are employed to suppress any slight disturbance; the Governor betakes himself to the church to be ready in case of any serious outbreak: the French Consul is busy with preparations two days before, and on the evening of the service he and his employés are wearied out; the clergy are knocked about by the crowd; and all this passes off well.[Pg 306]

They ought to remember the year in which human blood was shed on Mount Calvary; and how in 1861, had it not been for the energy of the French Consul, and the singular discretion and moderation of General Ducrot, of the French Corps d'Expédition in Syria, and his forty officers, the service certainly would not have passed off well.

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Note XVI. The short street which connects the two churches of S. Mary the Great and S. Mary the Less was called, at the time of the Crusades, *the street of Palms*, because palm-branches were there sold to pilgrims. A similar traffic goes on at the present day, and on the same spot, during the feast of Palms; but palms being scarcer than formerly, olive-branches are generally substituted for them.

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Note XVII. The original firman exists in the archives of the Franciscan Convent of S. Saviour at Jerusalem. Its exact date is not known, but may be placed between 1014 and 1023. See Boré, *Question des Lieux Saints*, 5.

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Note XVIII. The direction of this street is clearly marked in a paper published by Sebastian Paoli (Cod. Diplom. I. p. 243), and reproduced by Schultz, Williams, and De Vogüé: "I, Amalric ... have given ... to the sacred Hospital at Jerusalem, and to the Church of S. Mary the Great, a certain street which was *between* the Hospital aforesaid and the Church of S. Mary the Great aforesaid, to which there is an *entrance on the north from the Street of Palms*, opposite the front of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and on the south between the two aforesaid houses of the hospital and of St Mary the Less, which leads also *below the buildings of the Hospital to the Street of the Patriarch's Baths....*" June, 1174.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

Note I. See De Vogüé, p. 302. We first find it mentioned in La Citez de Jhérusalem, under the name of 'Porte douloureuse.' "When you have gone a little further on" (after crossing the Street of Jehoshaphat, on the way from S. Stephen's Gate) "you come to a place where two streets cross: that which comes from the left comes from the Temple and goes to the Sepulchre. At the commencement of this street is a gate, on the Temple side, which is called 'Porte douloureuse:' by it Jesus passed when he was taken to Calvary to be crucified; and therefore it is called the gate of mourning."

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Note II. "The Sultan, on his return to Jerusalem, increased the endowment of the school which he had there founded. Before the occupation by the Mohammedans it had been known as the Church of S. Ann, the mother of S. Mary; whose tomb is said to have been found there. Under the Mohammedans it had been turned into a school, before the Franks made themselves masters of the city. They had restored the church to its former position, but the Sultan, having conquered the Franks, again changed it into a school, whose management and revenues he entrusted to Bohaddin, son of Sieddad." Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, from Reiske's translation.

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Note III. The Church of the Holy Cross is superior to that of S. Ann in the simplicity of its ornamentation, answering to the description of M. de Vogüé (p. 241): "Some persons have thought they saw in the poverty and simplicity of the

ornamentation a proof of Byzantine influence. I would rather attribute it partly to the want of sculptors, and partly to the influence of the Cistercians, which seems to have been brought to bear on the foundation and building of the monastery." The latter statement he illustrates by a note which I will also quote: "S. Bernard took a lively interest in all that occurred in the Holy Land, and exercised much influence thereon by his[Pg 307] letters. He was in constant correspondence with Queen Milisendis (1130-1150), with the Patriarch, and with the Templars—the rules of whose order he helped to draw up. It was well known how sternly he had denounced the excessive adorning of churches, and how rigorously the Cistercian order applied his principles. The connexion of S. Bernard with Milisendis, who was the chief benefactress of the Convent of S. Ann, *leads me to suppose* that his views may have been followed in the building of the Church of S. Ann, and of the monastery. See in M. de Verneuil's *L'Architecture Byzantine en France* (Plate XIII.), the design of the Cistercian Abbey at Boschaud, built in 1154. The general form is not the same with that of S. Ann, but the style is identical. Further there are also the pilasters of the binding joists ending in corbelling." I would gladly assent to M. de Vogüé's hypothesis—but I cannot; for in S. Bernard's correspondence there is no mention at all of the building of the Church of S. Ann. I allow that the style is identical with that of the Cistercian Abbey: but certainly the form changes a good deal, because this is not a trapezium like that of S. Ann.

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Note IV. Some idea may be formed of the position which the Franciscans hold in respect of the local government, from the conditions to which they were required to submit before they received permission to take up a residence within the walls of Jerusalem. The following are some of them: that they would give presents every year to the *Kadi*, the governor, and to all the members of the Divan: that, when one of them died, they should not be allowed to carry his body out to burial in the sight of the Mohammedans, but that he should be wrapt in a carpet, and carried outside the walls and buried there: that they should never buy any property in Jerusalem, under pain of its being confiscated and given to the Mosque of Omar: that the friars should not shew themselves too frequently in the streets of the city: that the monastery occupied by them should be inspected every three years by the *Kadi*, the governor, and his architect, to see whether any changes had been made in the building. These conditions were rigorously enforced every time that the local governor was pleased to extort money from the brotherhood, who, of course, were always in the wrong. (These facts are drawn from the papers found in the Registry of the Convent of S. Saviour.)

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Note V. It is sometimes supposed that the Franciscans carry on a trade in the articles that are made in the workroom of S. Saviour; but it is quite a mistake. The friars have these articles made by poor workpeople, and so give them the means of supporting themselves by their industry; and any profits that may accrue from the sale are applied to the support of widows and orphans, as in every other work of charity, which is constantly carried on by the society.

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Note VI. The Greeks, who since the coming of the first Crusaders had been unjustly robbed of all their other possessions in the Holy Land, returned thither in 1348, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the Emperor Cantacuzenus and Naser Eddin Hassan, Sultan of Egypt. They established a hospice for pilgrims in the Monastery of S. Euthymius, whilst their servants took up their abode in that of S. Michael the Archangel.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

Note I. The eastern Christians call the Valley of Jehoshaphat in the language of the country *Wady el-Nar* (Valley of Fire); a name which is also given to it by the Mohammedans, from the belief that the general judgment will take place there. If we interpret the name *Jehoshaphat* according to the idea of the Jews, its meaning is *judgment of God*, for the Chaldee in the passage in Joel (chap. iii. 2, 12, 15), instead of saying "*in the valley of Jehoshaphat*," translates it thus, "*in the valley of the division of judgment*." If we are to accept the opinion of Calmet, that by the valley of Jehoshaphat we are to understand the *valley of Jezreel*, we cannot[Pg 308] believe that the final judgment is to take place in this valley, which is close under the walls of Jerusalem, but in that of Jezreel.

Origen looks upon this general gathering of mankind in a more extended view than that of Calmet: "Origen thinks that the nations will be gathered together over the face of the whole earth; and that the manifestation of Christ will be like to a blaze of light that covers at once the whole world." S. Jerome expresses himself thus, "It is folly to seek in a small or secret place for Him who is the light of the whole world." (Calmet's Commentary on Joel.) Mariti, *L'État présent*, &c. p. 132.

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Note II. Those who made of the Hebrew word Kidron (Cedron) a Greek word, fancy that the name may have been derived from some cedars planted in the neighbourhood; they rely probably on the Greek text of the gospel of S. John, where the word is written with ω instead of o, which may be simply an error of the copyists, as some commentators have remarked; seeing that in other parts of the Bible it is called Kidron.

The valley of Kidron begins, on the north, near or a little above the Tombs of the Kings, at a height of about 2460 feet above the Mediterranean; at first it is called the Valley of Kidron, or of Jehoshaphat; then *Wady er-Nahib* (Valley of the Monks), in the neighbourhood of the monastery of S. Saba; and lastly, *Wady el-Nar* (Valley of Fire), in the last part of its course. The entire descent from the head of the valley to the Dead Sea is about 3690 vertical feet. I have traversed it several times on foot with Bedouins, for the sole purpose of examining all the changes of its sides. Near S. Saba it is very picturesque.

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Note III. Nicephorus Callistus expresses himself thus: "She also raised another splendid temple in the garden of Gethsemane to the Mother of God; and enclosed within it her life-giving tomb. Moreover the place being on a hill-side she erected marble steps, for travellers to pass from the city eastwards." (Ecclesiastical History, VIII. 30.)

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Note IV. These are the words of the empress: "We hear that there is a noble and splendid church dedicated to Mary, Mother of God and perpetual Virgin, on the ground called Gethsemane where her body was laid." Johann. Damascen. Orat. II. de B. M. Assumptione, ap. Quaresm. E. T. S. Lib. IV. peregr. 7, c. 2, Tom. II. p. 241.

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Note V. This is the account of Sebastiano Paoli: "That most venerable Mount Sion also they have profaned and treated with no respect: the Temple of the Lord, the church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where is the Sepulchre of the Virgin, the church at Bethlehem, and the place of our Lord's nativity, they have polluted by enormities too grievous to be told, exceeding therein the wickedness of all the Saracens." (Seb. Paoli, Cod. Diplom. del S. Mil. Ord. Gerusal. Said Ebn Batrik, II. 212.)

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Note VI. It was Godfrey de Bouillon who brought these monks to Jerusalem and gave them for their abbey the whole of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. "The same Godfrey aforesaid had also brought monks from well-disciplined cloisters, religious men, and distinguished by their holy conversation, who during the whole of the journey, day and night, celebrated the divine offices according to ecclesiastical usage. And when he obtained the kingdom, he settled them at their own request in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and gave them an ample endowment." (William of Tyre, IX. 9.)

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Note VII. In which place was a wonderful work built in the earliest times of the Christian religion, as S. Jerome testifies in his writings. It surpassed all the other buildings in size, workmanship, and design; but was afterwards destroyed by the treacherous Gentiles: its ruins are to be seen even to this day. Bongars, p. 574. De Vogüé says that the author grounds his statement wrongly on an apocryphal letter of S. Jerome. See Quaresmius, E. T. S. Tom. II. p. 244.

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Note VIII. Brocardus writes: "The Sepulchre of the Virgin is covered with earth to such an extent that the church built upon its site, though its walls were lofty, and it had a noble roof, is now entirely buried underground.... There was built, however, on the same site, and *upon the surface of the ground*, a church or a building like a chapel, after the repairing of the city. Having entered this, you will descend by several steps[Pg 309] *underground* to the aforementioned church and the Tomb of the Virgin; if I am not mistaken there are sixty steps. The tomb is in the middle of the choir and in front of a marble altar beautifully decorated, which the Saracens too most devoutly worship, falling down before it and kissing it, and in a loud voice, as is their custom, praying for the intercession of the Holy Virgin. I have been inside the Sepulchre itself."

Willibrand (Leo Allat. Sym. p. 149) says, "We saw a church richly adorned and in its midst a monument, covered on all sides with white, i.e. virgin, marble."

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Note IX. Father Geraldo Calvetti, guardian and keeper of Mount Sion, took possession of the Sepulchre. The document which proves this is found in the archives of the convent of S. Saviour at Jerusalem, under the letter C. Quaresmius, I. 181: "These things were done at Jerusalem before the gate and entrance of the said church of Our Blessed Lady of the Valley of Jehoshaphat."

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Note X. A firman, granted in 1852, allows the Latins to hold service in the Sepulchre of the Virgin, after the Greeks and the Armenians, enjoining upon them at the same time to take away on each occasion the objects of worship. This firman, amongst the many false statements that it makes, contains a few lines which are worth quoting: "it is just to confirm the permission granted at all times to the Christians of the Catholic rite to exercise their own form of worship in this place." In spite of these previous concessions, &c. the Latins had been totally driven out from it. Of what use are firmans when they are acquired at will by presents of gold?



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Note XI. Father Morone[\[903\]](#), Guardian of the Holy Land, relates that towards the middle of the seventeenth century some tombstones were found near the entrance of the Grotto of the Agony; and on them were inscriptions belonging to the Latin Christians; but that he himself, who had the oversight of the work, did not let them be uncovered, from fear lest the Turks should take possession of them. If he had only taken a copy of these epitaphs, we might possibly know the resting-place of some of the more distinguished Crusaders. However, I conclude, from the fact that he relates, that the existing passage was made at that time.

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Note XII. In 1857 I obtained leave from the Superior of the Greek convent to draw the ground-plan of the church. I set to work, and got as far as the Armenian Chapel of S. Joseph, when the Armenian lay-keeper of the chapel wished to hinder my continuing my work; I asked him as a favour to let me go on, and offered him an acknowledgment, but he only became more annoying still. At last I tried force, compelled him to return to his sacristy, set a European servant to watch at the door, and, regardless of his cries, persisted in my work. I mention this to shew how great difficulties are met with, even amongst Christians of other sects, in conducting any investigations respecting the monuments that belong to them.

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Note XIII. The olive-trees of the Garden of Gethsemane, says Chateaubriand (*Itinéraire*, Vol. II.), belong at any rate to the later empire. In Turkey, every olive-tree found already planted when the Turks invaded Asia, pays a tax of a medino; those that have been planted since the conquest pay to the Sultan the half of their fruit. Now, the eight olive-trees of Gethsemane are taxed at eight medini.

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Note XIV. The various elevations of the hills, and other special localities of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, are drawn in section. (Plate IV.)

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Note XV. The Jews had derived the worship of Moloch from the Canaanites. Moloch and Saturn appear to have been the same deity: the way in which they were worshipped is the same. The Carthaginians, who were descended from the Canaanites, offered human victims to Saturn. "There was in their city," says Diodorus Siculus (Book XX. chap. 14), "a bronze statue representing Cronos (Saturn): it had its hands spread out, and bent down towards the ground, so that the

child that was put in its hands, rolling itself up, fell into a fiery furnace." These cruel sacrifices continued to prevail in Africa till the time[Pg 310] of the Emperor Tiberius (Tertullian, Apol. IX.). From Syria the practice passed into Europe. Agathocles, king of Sicily, sacrificed two hundred children of the noblest families to his deity, believing him to be angry. (Pescennius Festus in Lactant. Divin. Instit. I. 21.)

The Rabbi Simon, in his commentary on Jeremiah (viii.), gives the following description of the idol Moloch: "All the idol temples were in the city of Jerusalem, except that of Moloch, which was in a place set apart outside the city. It was a statue of bronze with the head of an ox, and with the hands stretched out like those of a man who wishes to receive something from another; within it was quite hollow. Before the image were seven chapels; he who offered a dove, or any other bird, went into the first; he who gave a lamb, or a sheep, into the second; into the third for a wether; into the fourth for a calf; into the fifth for a bull; into the sixth for an ox; while he who sacrificed his own son entered the seventh chapel and embraced the idol, as it is said in Hosea (xiii. 2), 'Let the men that sacrifice kiss the calves.' The child was set before the idol, beneath which a fire was kindled, till the bronze became red hot; then the priest took the child, and put it between the burning hands of Moloch, while the parents were bound to witness the sacrifice without any expression of feeling. To prevent the cries of the victims reaching them, drums and gongs were sounded! from this comes the name *Topheth*, which signifies a drum. It was also called *Hinnom*, because of the cries of the children, from *naham*, to cry, or, according to another interpretation from the words which the priest used to address to the parents, *Jehenelach*—this will be of service to thee. King Josiah, in order to render the place an object of horror, 'defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the sons of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Moloch' (2 Kings xxiii. 10)."

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Note XVI. So when Solomon is spoken of, it is said, "Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David, his father" (1 Kings xi. 43); and the same formula is used of the kings Rehoboam, Abijam, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah, Jehoiada, the priest (2 Chron. xxiv. 16), and the kings Amaziah, Jotham, Josiah; while in the case of the rest different expressions are used. Asa was buried "in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David" (2 Chron. xvi. 14); therefore he was not buried with his fathers. Jehoram was buried "in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chron. xxi. 20). The place of burial of the usurper Athaliah is not mentioned. Joash, in 2 Kings xii. 21, is buried "with his fathers in the city of David," while in 2 Chron. xxiv. 25, it is said that "they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings." Uzziah "they buried with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper" (2

Chron. xxvi. 23). Ahaz they "buried in the city, *even* at Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel" (2 Chron. xxviii. 27). Hezekiah was buried "in the highest of the sepulchres of the sons of David" (2 Chron. xxxii. 33). Manasseh "was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza;" as also was Amon, his successor (2 Kings xxi. 18, 26). Jehoahaz died in Egypt (2 Kings xxiii. 34). Eliakim, or Jehoiachim, according to Jeremiah (xxii. 19), is to be "buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem;" and (xxxvi. 30), "his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost;" from all which we may the more certainly conclude that the sepulchres of the other kings were within the gates of Jerusalem. Lastly, we have Jehoiachin and Zedekiah led captive to Babylon, where they died.

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Note XVII. Bede, who wrote in the eighth century (on the authority of Arculf), calls the building of the Cœnaculum a large church. In his time there was in the neighbourhood a convent of monks. He says: "On the upper part of Mount Sion there is a large church, surrounded by a great number of monks' cells. The church was founded, it is said, by the apostles, because it was there that they received the Holy Ghost, and that Mary died. They shew there to this day the memorable place which was the scene of our Lord's supper. In the middle of the church is a column of marble, to which Jesus was bound when He was scourged."

## FOOTNOTES:

[900] Persons who have seen them have told me that they were of the veined red breccia of Palestine.

[901] These three inscriptions were traced in characters of the 12th century.

[902] Lib. VII. ad fin. p. 289, ed. Bonn.

[903] Mariano Morone da Maleo, Terra Santa nuovamente illustrata. Piacenza, 1669, 4to.

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[Pg 311]

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

### OF THE HISTORY AND EVENTS OF JERUSALEM.

B.C.

1913 Melchizedek, king of Salem, receives Abram at the Valley of Gen. xiv. 17,

Shaveh, which is the King's Dale	18.
1872 Sacrifice of Isaac on Mount Moriah	<i>Ib.</i> xxii. 2-14.
1451 Adonizedek king of Jerusalem	Josh. x. 1.
1444 The descendants of Judah dwell among the Jebusites at Jerusalem	<i>Ib.</i> xv. 63.
1425 The descendants of Benjamin dwell among the Jebusites at Jerusalem	Judges i. 21.
— Jebus, the city of the Jebusites, is Jerusalem	<i>Ib.</i> xix. 10, 11.
1050 David reigns in Jerusalem over all Israel and Judah	2 Sam. v. 5.
1023 Death of Absalom, and his Pillar in the King's Dale	<i>Ib.</i> xviii. 14, 18.
1017 The prophets, Nathan and Gad, at Jerusalem	<i>Ib.</i> xxiv. 11; 1 Kings i. 11.
— David buys the Threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and builds there an Altar to God	2 Sam. xxiv. 24, 25.
— Solomon proclaimed king at Jerusalem	1 Kings i. 39.
1015 Death of David, after 40 years' reign	<i>Ib.</i> ii. 10, 11.
1014 Solomon begins to build the Temple	<i>Ib.</i> vi. 1.
1007 The Temple finished	<i>Ib.</i> vi. 38.
1004 Dedication of Solomon's Temple	<i>Ib.</i> viii. 63.
992 Solomon forsakes God, and builds a high place to Chemosh, &c.	<i>Ib.</i> xi. 7.
977 Death of Solomon, after 40 years' reign	<i>Ib.</i> xi. 42, 43.
— Division of the Kingdom. Rehoboam, king of Judah, reigns 17 years	<i>Ib.</i> xii. 17; xiv. 21.
973 Shishak, king of Egypt, besieges and takes Jerusalem	<i>Ib.</i> xiv. 25, 26.
960 Abijam, king of Judah, reigns 3 years	<i>Ib.</i> xv. 1, 2.
958 Asa, king of Judah, reigns 41 years	<i>Ib.</i> xv. 9, 10.
917 Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, reigns 25 years	<i>Ib.</i> xxii. 42.
896 The prophet Elijah taken up to heaven. Elisha the prophet	2 Kings ii. 11, 12.
892 Joram, king of Judah, reigns 8 years	<i>Ib.</i> viii. 16, 17.
887 The Philistines and Arabians pillage Judah	2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.
885 Ahaziah, king of Judah, reigns 1 year	2 Kings viii. 25, 26.
884 Usurpation of the throne by Athaliah; reigns 6 years	<i>Ib.</i> xi. 1, 3.
878 Jehoash, king of Judah, reigns 40 years	<i>Ib.</i> xii. 1.

856 Repairs of the Temple	<i>Ib.</i> xii. 11-14.
840 Hazael, king of Syria, threatens Jerusalem	<i>Ib.</i> xii. 18.
839 Amaziah, king of Judah, reigns 29 years	<i>Ib.</i> xiv. 1, 2.
838 Jehoash, king of Israel, comes to Jerusalem as a conqueror	<i>Ib.</i> xiv. 17.
811 Azariah, king of Judah, reigns 52 years	<i>Ib.</i> xv. 2.
787 The Prophet Amos	Amos i. 1.
785 The Prophet Hosea	Hosea i. 1.
759 Jotham, king of Judah, reigns 16 years; fortifies Ophel	2 Kings xv. 32; 2 Chr. xxvii. 3.
743 Ahaz, king of Judah, reigns 16 years	<i>Ib.</i> xvi. 2.
— Isaiah the Prophet. Micah the Prophet, in the days of Jotham	Isai. i. 1; Micah i. 1.
727 Hezekiah, king of Judah, reigns 29 years	2 Kings xviii. 2.
714 Judah invaded by Sennacherib the Assyrian	<i>Ib.</i> xviii. 13.[Pg 312]
713 Destruction of Sennacherib's army	2 Kings xix. 35.
698 Manasseh, king of Judah, reigns 55 years; fortifies Ophel	<i>Ib.</i> xxi. 1; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14.
643 Amon, king of Judah, reigns 2 years	<i>Ib.</i> xxi. 19.
641 Josiah, king of Judah, reigns 31 years	<i>Ib.</i> xxii. 1.
629 The prophet Jeremiah	Jer. i. 2.
— The prophet Zephaniah	Zephan. i. 1.
624 The Book of the Law found	2 Kings xxii. 8.
610-9 Josiah killed by Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt	<i>Ib.</i> xxiii. 29.
— Jehoahaz, king of Judah, reigns 3 months	<i>Ib.</i> xxiii. 31.
— Jehoiachim (Eliakim), king of Judah, reigns 11 years	<i>Ib.</i> xxiii. 34, 36.
606- Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, subdues Judea. Epoch 5 generally used to indicate the commencement of the Seventy years' Captivity in Babylon	<i>Ib.</i> xxiv. 1.
599- Jehoiachin, king of Judah, reigns 3 months. Jerusalem taken 8 by Nebuchadnezzar.	<i>Ib.</i> xxiv. 12.
— Zedekiah, king of Judah under the Chaldeans, reigns 11 years	<i>Ib.</i> xxiv. 18.
595 The Vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, in the thirtieth year after the reformation of Josiah, by the river Chebar, in Babylon	Ezekiel i. 1.
589 The city of Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadnezzar	2 Kings xxv. 1, 2.
588 Jeremiah in prison	Jer. xxxvii. 15.

587 Destruction of Jerusalem; Zedekiah taken prisoner; the people carried captive to Babylon	2 Kings xxv. 6, 9-11.
536 Return of the Jews to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel in the 1st year of the reign of Cyrus	Ezra i. 1; ii. 2.
521 The building of the Temple interrupted by order of Smerdis, called by Ezra, Artaxerxes	<i>Ib.</i> iii. 8; iv. 1, 21, 24.
520 Recommencement of the building of the Temple in the 2nd year of Darius, king of Persia	<i>Ib.</i> iv. 24; vi. 7-14.
517 Completion and Dedication of the Temple	<i>Ib.</i> vi. 15, 16.
457 Ezra goes to Judea with many of the Jews, by order of Artaxerxes	<i>Ib.</i> vii. 1-8.
444 Nehemiah returns to Jerusalem, rebuilds the walls, and governs the city until 432	Nehem. i. 1; ii. 1; iii.
332 The great high-priest Jaddua receives Alexander the Great at Jerusalem. — Palestine under Greek and Roman Dominion.	
323 Ptolemy, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, surprises and takes Jerusalem.	
320 Many Jews in captivity at Alexandria.	
314 Antiochus the Great subdues Palestine.	
301 Ptolemy Epiphanes recovers Palestine.	
292 Death of Simon the Just.	
170 Antiochus Epiphanes lays waste the city of Jerusalem, pillages the Temple, and builds a fortress to command it.	
167 Mattathias begins the war of Jewish Independence.	
165 Judas Maccabeus delivers his Country, purifies and restores the Temple at Jerusalem.	
164 Antiochus Eupator besieges the Temple at Jerusalem.	
160 Jonathan succeeds his brother, Judas Maccabeus.	
144 Jonathan undertakes to fortify Jerusalem.	
143 Simon Maccabeus, general of the Jews, delivers his Nation from Macedonian servitude; takes the fortress commanding the Temple, which he razes to the ground, and destroys the hill upon which it was built.	
135 Simon Maccabeus treacherously killed.	
129 Antiochus Soter besieges Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus causes the Sepulchre of David to be opened, and takes from it three thousand talents.	
107 Aristobulus, the eldest son of Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, causes himself to be crowned king. Death of his brother Antigonus in the subterranean passages of Strato's Tower at Jerusalem.	

- 79 Death of Alexander Janneus.
- 65 Aretas, king of Arabia, besieges Aristobulus in Jerusalem.
- 64-63 Pompey besieges the Temple of Jerusalem.
- 63 After a siege of three months Pompey carries the Temple by assault.
- 54 Crassus pillages the Temple of Jerusalem.
- 47 Cæsar permits Hyrcanus to rebuild the Walls of Jerusalem.
- 44 Herod besieges Jerusalem.
- 43 Cassius in Judea.
- 40 Jerusalem taken by the Parthians; Phazaelus killed.
- Herod besieges Jerusalem; is proclaimed king at Rome.
- 38 Herod, assisted by Sosius, takes Jerusalem by storm.
- 17 Herod rebuilds the Temple and the fortress of Baris, which he calls Antonia.  
In the upper town he builds the Cæsarean and Agrippan palaces, and excavates a subterranean passage from the Tower Antonia to the Eastern gate of the Temple.[Pg 313]
- 12 Herod causes the Sepulchre of David to be opened.
- 7 Herod causes his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to be condemned in a large assembly at Berytus.
- 5 Sabinus at Jerusalem seizes the treasures left by Herod.
- 4 Birth of Jesus Christ. The Vulgar Era commences four years later.
- 4 Death of Herod, who is interred at Herodium, and succeeded by Archelaus.

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## A.D.

- 26 Death of Augustus, succeeded by Tiberius.
- Pilate supplies Jerusalem with water by means of Aqueducts.
- 28 Jesus Christ keeps the second Passover at Jerusalem.
- 31 Death of Jesus Christ.
- 37 Birth of Flavius Josephus at Jerusalem.
- 38 Agrippa named king of the Jews by Caius Caligula.
- 42 Claudius confirms Agrippa's title as king.
- 44 King Agrippa begins to fortify Jerusalem, but is forbidden to continue the work by the emperor Claudius.
- Izates, king of Adiabene, and queen Helena, his mother, embrace Judaism.
- 46 Death of Herod, king of Chalcis. The emperor Claudius gives his dominions to Agrippa, son of king Agrippa the Great.



- 47 The insolence of a Roman soldier causes the death of twenty thousand Jews at Jerusalem.
- 52 Death of the emperor Claudius. Nero succeeds him.
- 60 King Agrippa builds an apartment whence he can see all that goes on in the precincts of the Temple.
- 62 Ananias, the high-priest, puts S. James to death.
- 65 Albinus and Gessius Florus persecute the Jews.
- 66 Cestius Gallus enters Jerusalem, and would have taken the Temple, had he not imprudently raised the siege.
- Cestius defeated at Gibeon by the Jews.
- The Christian Jews, guided by their bishop, Simon, retire beyond the Jordan, to the town of Pella. (See Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. III. 5.)
- The Jews prepare for war with the Romans. The emperor Nero confers the command of his Syrian armies upon Vespasian, to make war upon the Jews.
- 67 Vespasian and Titus proceed to Ptolemais with an army of sixty thousand men.
- Flavius Josephus made prisoner by Vespasian.
- 68 Vespasian begins to blockade Jerusalem.
- Flavius Josephus set at liberty by Vespasian, who is now become emperor.
- 69 Vespasian despatches Titus to Judea, to take Jerusalem.
- 70 Titus arrives at Jerusalem, in which place Simon had ten thousand men, besides five thousand Idumeans. John had eight thousand four hundred men. Total twenty-three thousand four hundred.
- Titus takes the city of Jerusalem, and reduces it to ruins.
- Titus returns to view Jerusalem.
- 136-8 Hadrian rebuilds Jerusalem, and calls it Ælia Capitolina.
- 306 Constantine proclaimed emperor.
- 326 The emperor Constantine and his mother Helena build many churches in Palestine.
- 335 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre completed.
- 363 Under the reign of Julian the Apostate the Jews attempt to rebuild the Temple.
- 396 Palestine a province of the Eastern Empire.
- 420 Patriarchate of Tiberius came to an end under Theodosius II.
- 436 Under the reign of Marcian, the general Council of Chalcedon raises the Church of Jerusalem to the Patriarchal dignity.
- 527-565 Justinian, emperor of the East, builds churches in Palestine.

- 614 Chosroes II. enters Palestine and destroys the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
- 629 The emperor Heraclius carries back to Jerusalem the wood of the Cross restored by Chosroes.
- The Greek monk, Modestus, afterwards Patriarch, determines to rebuild the Church of the Sepulchre.
- 636 Omar becomes master of Jerusalem under a capitulation arranged with Sophronius the patriarch.
- 637 Omar orders the construction of a Mosque upon the site of the Jewish Temple, and converts the basilica of S. Mary of Justinian into the Mosque el-Aksa.
- 687-690 The Caliph Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Merwan erects the Mosque of Omar.
- 748 and subsequently. The Christians inhabit a separate quarter of Jerusalem, and pay tribute.
- 786-809 Haroun-er-Raschid presents the keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charlemagne, king of the French.
- 842 Under the Caliphate of Al-Motassim, Tamim, surnamed Abu-Harb, marches to Jerusalem and threatens to burn the churches, but retires after receiving a sum of money.
- 878 Syria and Palestine conquered by Ahmed-ben-Touloun.
- 929-950 Interruption of the pilgrimages to Mecca, owing to the invasion of the Carmathians; the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem replaces the Caaba.[Pg 314]
- 936 Abubeker-Mohammed, surnamed Ikshide, makes himself master of Palestine.
- 945 The eunuch Cafour master of Palestine until his death in 968.
- 972 Palestine in the power of Moezz-Ledin-Allah, caliph of the dynasty of the Fatimites.
- 996 The caliph Al-Hakem-Biamr-Allah ascends the throne of Egypt.
- 1010 Hakem-Biamr-Allah destroys the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
- 1046 The Church of the Sepulchre rebuilt under caliph Al-Mostanser-Billah. The emperor Constantine Monomachus gives large sums towards the work.
- 1071 Atsiz takes Jerusalem from caliph Al-Mostanser-Billah, and pillages many of the churches.
- 1095 Al-Mastaali-Billah, caliph of Egypt, sends an army to Palestine under the command of Al-Afdhal-ibn-Bedr; Jerusalem capitulates after 40 days' siege.
- At the general Council of Clermont Peter the Hermit appears by the side of Pope Urban II., and the Crusade is determined.
- 1099 The Crusaders, commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, take Jerusalem, Friday,

July 15th.

1100 Death of Godfrey of Bouillon in the month of July.

1118 Death of Baldwin I.

1131 Death of Baldwin II.

— Under the reign of Baldwin II. the military and religious orders of S. John, or Hospitalers and Knights of the Temple, are approved by the Pope.

1142 Fulk, count of Anjou, dies at Ptolemais.

1146 The second Crusade decided upon in the Assembly of Vezelay, March 31st. Undertaken by Louis VII., king of France, and Conrad, emperor of Germany, under the pontificate of Eugenius III.

1162 Baldwin III. dies at Beyrout.

1173 Death of Amaury. This king witnessed the birth and development of the power of Saladin.

1185 Death of Baldwin IV.

1186 Death of Baldwin V.

1187 Saladin destroys the army of Guy of Lusignan, July 4.

— The Christians of Jerusalem capitulate to Saladin, October 2nd.

1189 Third Crusade under the pontificate of Clement III., Philip Augustus, king of France, Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany.

1190 Death of Frederic Barbarossa on the Cydnus.

1191 Siege and capture of S. Jean d'Acre by Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus.

1193 Death of Saladin at Damascus, the night of March 3rd.

1203 Fourth Crusade under the pontificate of Innocent III.

1205 Amaury II. dies in the Spring.

1212 Crusade of the fifty thousand children.

1217 Fifth Crusade under the pontificate of Honorius III.

1219 Francis of Assisi in Palestine.

1229 Sixth Crusade under the pontificate of Gregory IX. The sultan, Malek-Kamel, cedes Jerusalem to Frederic without combat.

1239 The Christians reconstruct the ramparts of Jerusalem, with Thibaut, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre; but the prince of Kerek enters the city and destroys the new fortifications and the Tower of David.

1240 Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., king of England, arrives in Palestine with an army of English Crusaders.

1244 The Tartars under Gengis Khan take and destroy Jerusalem.

— Palestine remains in possession of the Egyptians.

- 1248 Louis IX. undertakes a Crusade under the pontificate of Innocent IV.
- 1254 Louis IX. abandons Palestine upon the news of queen Blanche's death.
- 1270 Louis IX. undertakes a fresh Crusade.
- Louis IX. dies at Tunis, August 25th.
- 1271 Prince Edward, son of Henry III. of England, in the East. He is wounded with a dagger by an emissary of the Old Man of the Mountain, but is saved by the princess Eleanor, his wife.
- 1291 The Crusaders lose S. Jean d'Acre, their last possession in Palestine.
- 1313 Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, causes the disciples of S. Francis of Assisi to be admitted into Jerusalem.
- 1491 The Franciscans of Mount Sion dispersed in the reign of sultan Malec-dhaheer-djahmak.
- 1517-18 Selim I., sultan of Constantinople, conquers Syria and Palestine.
- 1534 Sultan Solyman, son of Selim I., builds the wall of the city, together with many edifices and fountains.
- 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte in Palestine.
- 1832 Conquest of Syria and Palestine by Ibrahim Pasha.
- 1841 Syria and Palestine restored to the Sultan.
- 1859 Surrayya Pasha, governor of Palestine, subdues the chiefs of the country, and restores tranquillity.
- 1860 Massacre of the Christians in the Lebanon and at Damascus. Palestine remains tranquil under the good government of Surrayya Pasha.

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[Pg 315]

## PRINCIPAL PASSAGES FROM THE HOLY BIBLE

### BEARING UPON THE STATEMENTS IN THE TEXT.

#### Genesis.

"And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale." xiv. 17. (page [1](#).)

"And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine." xiv. 18. (p. [1](#).)

"And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, Moriah.

whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of." xxii. 2. (pp. [17](#), [46](#).)

"And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." xxii. 14. (pp. [17](#), [46](#).)

#### Exodus.

"And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." xx. 25. (p. [54](#).)

"Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon." xx. 26. (p. [89](#).)

#### Leviticus.

"And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward before the Lord: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall sprinkle his blood round about upon the altar." i. 11. (pp. [50](#), [89](#).)

"And he shall pluck away his crop with his feathers, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, by the place of the ashes." i. 16. (pp. [50](#), [92](#).)

#### Deuteronomy.

"And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them." xxvii. 5. (p. [54](#).)

"Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God." xxvii. 6. (p. [54](#).)

#### Joshua.

"Now it came to pass, when Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem had heard how Joshua had taken Ai," &c. x. 1. (pp. [1](#), [2](#).)

"As for the Jebusites the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem

unto this day." xv. 63. (p. [2](#).)

"And the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to En-rogel." xviii. 16. (pp. <a href="#">17</a> , <a href="#">22</a> , <a href="#">188</a> , <a href="#">204</a> , <a href="#">290</a> .)	Valley of the son of Hinnom.  Valley of the giants. En-rogel.
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#### Judges.

"And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." i. 21. (pp. <a href="#">2</a> , <a href="#">22</a> .)	Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem.
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"But the man would not tarry that night, but he rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus, which is Jerusalem; and there were with him two asses saddled, his concubine also was with him." xix. 10. (p. <a href="#">1</a> .)	Jebus, which is Jerusalem.
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#### 2 Samuel.

"And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither." v. 6. (pp. <a href="#">2</a> , <a href="#">16</a> , <a href="#">22</a> .)[Pg 316]	David went to Jerusalem.
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"Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David." v. 7. (pp. <a href="#">2</a> , <a href="#">16</a> , <a href="#">22</a> , <a href="#">210</a> .)	Stronghold of Zion.
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"So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward." v. 9. (pp. <a href="#">2</a> , <a href="#">16</a> , <a href="#">22</a> , <a href="#">23</a> , <a href="#">24</a> , <a href="#">210</a> .)	City of David. Millo.
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"And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar-trees, and carpenters, and masons: and they built David an house." v. 11. (p. <a href="#">22</a> .)	Hiram. Masons.
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"The Philistines also came and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim." v. 18. (p. <a href="#">194</a> .)	Valley of Rephaim.
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"And David went up by the ascent of mount Olivet, and wept as he went up," &c. xv. 30. (p. <a href="#">21</a> .)	Mount Olivet.
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"And they took Absalom, and cast him into a great pit in Absalom.  
the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him;  
and all Israel fled every one to his tent." xviii. 17. (p.  
[182](#).)

"Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up His place.  
for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he  
said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance:  
and he called the pillar after his own name: and it is  
called unto this day, Absalom's place." xviii. 18. (pp. [47](#),  
[182](#).)

"And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Araunah the Jebusite.  
Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented him of the  
evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is  
enough: stay now thine hand. And the angel of the Lord  
was by the threshingplace of Araunah the Jebusite."  
xxiv. 16. (pp. [24](#), [46](#).)

"And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Altar on his  
Go up, rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor  
of Araunah the Jebusite." xxiv. 18. (pp. [24](#), [46](#).)  
threshingfloor.

"So David bought the threshingfloor and the oxen for  
fifty shekels of silver." xxiv. 24. (pp. [24](#), [46](#).)

"And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and  
offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord  
was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed  
from Israel." xxiv. 25. (pp. [24](#), [46](#).)

### 1 Kings.

"And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by En-Rogel.  
the stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel, and called  
all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah  
the king's servants." i. 9. (pp. [188](#), [290](#).)

"So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Gihon.  
Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites, and  
the Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to ride  
upon king David's mule, and brought him to Gihon." i.  
38. (p. [21](#).)



"And Adonijah and all the guests that were with him heard it as they had made an end of eating. And when Joab heard the sound of the trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise of the city being in an uproar?" i. 41. (p. [290.](#))

"So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David." ii. 10. (p. [210.](#))

David buried.

"And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about." iii. 1. (p. [24.](#))

Solomon, and the wall of Jerusalem.

"And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stonesquarers: so they prepared timber and stones to build the house." v. 18. (p. [48.](#))

Builders of Solomon and Hiram.

"And the house which king Solomon built for the Lord, the length thereof was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits." vi. 2. (p. [49.](#))

House which king Solomon built for the Lord.

"And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building." vi. 7. (p. [48.](#))

Stone.

"And the oracle he prepared in the house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of the Lord." vi. 19. (p. [49.](#))

Oracle.

"And the oracle in the forepart was twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in the height thereof: and he overlaid it with pure gold." vi. 20. (p. [49.](#))

Altar.

"All these were of costly stones, according to the measures of hewed stones, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside toward the great court." vii. 9. (p. [48.](#))

Stones.

"And the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits." vii. 10. (p. [48](#).)

"And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem." ix. 15. (pp. [24](#), [25](#).)

Millo and the wall of Jerusalem.

"But Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo." ix. 24. (p. [25](#).)

"Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon." xi. 7. (p. [21](#), [204](#).)

High places in the hill before Jerusalem.

"And this was the cause that he lifted up his hand against the king: Solomon built Millo, and repaired the breaches of the city of David his father." xi. 27. (pp. [24](#), [25](#).)

Millo.

"And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father." xi. 43. (p. [310](#).)

Solomon buried.

"And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem." xiv. 25. (pp. [2](#), [50](#).)

"And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David." xiv. 31. (p. [310](#).)[Pg 317]

Rehoboam buried.

## 2 Kings.

"And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David." ix. 28. (p. [310](#).)

Ahaziah buried.

"And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and slew Joash in the house of Millo, which goeth down to Silla." xii. 20. (pp. [25](#), [253](#).)

Joash, House of Millo, Silla.

"And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Conduit of upper pool.

Rab-shakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field." xviii. 17. (pp. [39](#), [241](#), [252](#).)

"Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rab-shakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall." xviii. 26. (p. [252](#).)

The people on the wall.

"And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?" xx. 20. (pp. [14](#), [24](#), [25](#), [32](#).)

Hezekiah.  
Pool.  
Conduit.  
Water into the city.

"And Hezekiah slept with his fathers." xx. 21. (p. [310](#).)

"And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza." xxi. 18. (pp. [184](#), [310](#).)

Manasseh buried in the garden of Uzza.

"And he was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza." xxi. 26. (pp. [184](#), [310](#).)

Amon buried in same place.

"So Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asahiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college;) and they communed with her." xxii. 14. (pp. [25](#), [70](#).)

Huldah.

"And he brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people." xxiii. 6. (pp. [39](#), [168](#).)

Josiah.  
The graves of the children of the people.

"And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or

Topheth, Hinnom.

his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech." xxiii.

10. (pp. [21](#), [310](#).)

"And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon," &c. xxiii. 13. (p. [21](#).)

"And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre." xxiii. 30. (p. [310](#).)

"At that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jerusalem, and the city was besieged." xxiv. 10. (pp. [2](#), [50](#).)

"And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land." xxiv. 14. (pp. [2](#), [50](#).)

"And the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden: (now the Chaldees were against the city round about:) and the king went the way toward the plain." xxv. 4. (pp. [26](#), [182](#), [188](#).)

"And in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, came Nebuzar-adan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem." xxv. 8. (p. [2](#).)

"And he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire." xxv. 9. (pp. [2](#), [50](#).)

"And all the army of the Chaldees, that were with the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about." xxv. 10. (p. [2](#).)

"But the captain of the guard left of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen." xxv. 12. (p. [50](#).)

## 1 Chronicles.

"And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David." xi. 5. (pp. [2](#), [16](#).)

Castle of Zion.  
City of David.

"And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David." xi. 7. (p. [22](#).)

"And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about: and Joab repaired the rest of the city." xi. 8. (pp. [23](#), [24](#).)

Works of David and Joab.

"Then the angel of the Lord commanded Gad to say to David, that David should go up, and set up an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite." xxi. 18. (pp. [24](#), [46](#).)

Ornan the Jebusite.

"So David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight." xxi. 25. (p. [46](#).)

"And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, and called upon the Lord; and he answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt offering." xxi. 26. (p. [46](#).)

David built there an altar,  
&c.

## 2 Chronicles.

"Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite." iii. 1. (pp. [17](#), [24](#).)

Moriah.

"Now these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed for the building of the house of God. The[Pg 318] length by cubits after the first measure was threescore cubits, and the breadth twenty cubits." iii. 3. (p. [48](#).)

House of God.

"And he made the most holy house, the length whereof was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits." iii. 8. (p. [48](#).)

"Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof." iv. 1. (p. [49](#).)

Altar of brass.

"And Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead." ix. 31. (p. [310](#).)

Solomon buried.

"And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him." xvi. 14. (p. [310](#).)

Asa buried.

"Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years, and departed without being desired. Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings." xxi. 20. (p. [310](#).)

Jehoram buried.

"So they laid hands on her; and when she was come to the entering of the horse gate by the king's house, they slew her there." xxiii. 15. (p. [26](#).)

Athaliah.

"And they buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings." xxiv. 25. (p. [310](#).)

Joash buried.

"And they brought him upon horses, and buried him with his fathers in the city of Judah." xxv. 28. (p. [310](#).)

Amaziah buried.

"Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them." xxvi. 9. (p. [26](#).)

Uzziah built towers at the corner gate and valley gate.

"So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead." xxvi. 23. (p. [310](#).)

Uzziah buried.

"He built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much." xxvii. 3. (p. [25](#).)

Jotham. Ophel.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in Ahaz buried.  
the city, even in Jerusalem: but they brought him not  
into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." xxviii. 27. (p.  
[310](#).)

"He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to Hezekiah stopped the  
stop the waters of the fountains which were without the waters of the fountains.  
city: and they did help him." xxxii. 3. (pp. [241](#), [252](#).)

"So there was gathered much people together, who The people stopped all the  
stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through fountains.  
the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of  
Assyria come, and find much water?" xxxii. 4. (pp. [241](#),  
[252](#).)

"Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall Hezekiah repaired Millo;  
that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and  
another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of  
David, and made darts and shields in abundance." xxxii.  
5. (pp. [25](#), [252](#).)

"This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper stopped the upper  
watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to watercourse of Gihon.  
the west side of the city of David." xxxii. 30. (pp. [21](#),  
[241](#), [251](#), [252](#).)

"And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried Hezekiah buried.  
him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of  
David." xxxii. 33. (p. [310](#).)

"Now after this he built a wall without the city of David, Manasseh built on the  
on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the west side of Gihon. Ophel.  
entering in at the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel,  
and raised it up a very great height." xxxiii. 14. (pp. [2](#),  
[17](#), [21](#), [26](#).)

"So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried Manasseh buried.  
him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his  
stead." xxxiii. 20. (p. [310](#).)

"And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the Chaldees burnt the house  
wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with of God, and brake down  
fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof." the wall of Jerusalem.



Ezra.

"But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy." iii. 12. (p. [51](#).)

House of God.  
Zerubbabel.

"Then rose up Zerubbabel, ... and began to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem: and with them were the prophets of God helping them." v. 2. (p. [51](#).)

Zerubbabel builds the  
house of God.

"In the first year of Cyrus the king the same Cyrus the king made a decree concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits." vi. 3. (p. [51](#).)

House of God. Cyrus.

Nehemiah.

"And I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon well, and to the dung port, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire." ii. 13. (pp. [27](#), [286](#).)

Gate of the valley.  
Dragon well. Dung port.

"Then I went on to the gate of the fountain, and to the king's pool: but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass." ii. 14. (p. [286](#).)

Gate of the fountain.  
King's pool.

"Then Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests, and they builded the sheep gate; they sanctified it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the tower of Meah they sanctified it, unto the tower of Hananeel." iii. 1. (p. [27](#).)

The sheep gate.  
Tower Meah.  
Tower Hananeel.

"But the fish gate did the sons of Hassenaah build." iii. 3. (p. [27](#).)

Fish gate.

"Moreover the old gate repaired Jehoiada the son of[Pg 319] Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah." iii. 6. (p. [27](#).)

Old gate repaired.

"... and they fortified Jerusalem unto the broad wall." iii. The broad wall.

8. (p. [27](#).)

"... repaired the other piece, and the tower of the Tower of the furnaces.  
furnaces." iii. 11. (p. [27](#).)

"The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of The valley gate. The dung  
Zanoah; they built it, and set up the doors thereof, the gate.  
locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and a thousand  
cubits on the wall unto the dung gate." iii. 13. (pp. [27](#),  
[286](#).)

"But the dung gate repaired Malchiah." iii. 14. (p. [27](#).) The dung gate.

"But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallun ... he built Gate of the fountain.  
it ... and the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's Pool of Siloah.  
garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of King's garden.  
David." iii. 15. (pp. [27](#), [185](#), [210](#).) The stairs, &c.

"After him repaired Nehemiah ... unto the place over Sepulchres of David.  
against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was Pool that was made.  
made." iii. 16. (pp. [27](#), [210](#).)

"Moreover the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel, unto the place Ophel. The water gate.  
over against the water gate toward the east, and the  
tower that lieth out." iii. 26. (p. [27](#).)

"After them the Tekoites repaired another piece, over Wall of Ophel.  
against the great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall  
of Ophel." iii. 27. (p. [27](#).)

"... After him repaired also Shemaiah the son of The east gate.  
Shechaniah, the keeper of the east gate." iii. 29. (p. [27](#).)

"They which builded on the wall, and they that bare Building of the wall.  
burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his  
hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held  
a weapon." iv. 17. (p. [285](#).)

"For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his Building of the wall.  
side, and so builded. And he that sounded the trumpet  
was by me." iv. 18. (p. [285](#).)

"So the wall was finished in the twenty and fifth day of Wall finished.

the month Elul, in fifty and two days." vi. 15. (p. [285](#).)

"And the sons of the singers gathered themselves together, both out of the plain country round about Jerusalem, and from the villages of Netophathi." xii. 28. (p. [43](#).)

Plain country round about Jerusalem.

"Also from the house of Gilgal, and out of the fields of Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had builded them villages round about Jerusalem." xii. 29. (p. [43](#).)

Villages round about Jerusalem.

"Then I brought up the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great companies of them that gave thanks, whereof one went on the right hand upon the wall toward the dung gate." xii. 31. (p. [27](#).)

Dung gate.

"And at the fountain gate, which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water gate eastward." xii. 37. (p. [27](#).)

Fountain and Water gates, Stairs, &c.

"And the other company of them that gave thanks went over against them, and I after them, and the half of the people upon the wall, from beyond the tower of the furnaces even unto the broad wall." xii. 38. (p. [27](#).)

Tower of the furnaces. Broad wall.

"And from above the gate of Ephraim, and above the old Gates, and Tower of gate, and above the fish gate, and the tower of Hananeel, Hananeel. and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep gate: and they stood still in the prison gate." xii. 39. (pp. [27](#), [144](#), [286](#).)

#### Ecclesiastes.

"I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits." ii. 5. (p. [246](#).)

Gardens.

"I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees." ii. 6. (p. [246](#).)

Pools.

#### Isaiah.

"Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's

Upper pool. Fuller's field.

field." vii. 3. (pp. [241](#), [251](#).)

"Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son." viii. 6. (p. [185](#).)

Waters of Shiloah.

"Ye have seen also the breaches of the city of David, that they are many: and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool." xxii. 9. (p. [209](#).)

Lower pool.

"Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool: but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago." xxii. 11. (p. [31](#).)

Of the old pool.

"And the king of Assyria sent Rab-shakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." xxxvi. 2. (p. [39](#).)

Kings of Assyria.

Conduit of upper pool.  
Fuller's field.

"Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joah unto Rab-shakeh, Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not to us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall." xxxvi. 11. (p. [252](#).)

People on the wall.

"Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." xxxvii. 36. (p. [241](#).)

### Jeremiah.

"Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it Tophet shall no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter: for they shall bury in Tophet, till there be no place." vii. 32. (pp. [21](#), [205](#).)

"And go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate, and proclaim there the words that I shall tell thee." xix. 2. (p. [286](#).)

Hinnom. East gate.

"And shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Even so will I break this people and this city, as[Pg 320]

Tophet.

one breaketh a potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again: and they shall bury them in Tophet, till there be no place to bury." xix. 11. (pp. [21](#), [205](#), [206](#).)

"Then Pashur smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord." xx. 2. (p. [26](#).)

Gate of Benjamin.

"He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." xxii. 19. (p. [310](#).)

Jehoiakim's burial.

"And they fetched forth Urijah out of Egypt, and brought him unto Jehoiakim the king; who slew him with the sword, and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people." xxvi. 23. (pp. [39](#), [168](#).)

Graves of the common people.

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner." xxxi. 38. (p. [26](#).)

Gate of the corner.  
Tower of Hananeel.

"And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath." xxxi. 39. (p. [18](#).)

Gareb.  
Goath.

"And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever." xxxi. 40. (p. [26](#).)

Valley of the dead bodies, &c.  
Horse gate.

"When Jeremiah was entered into the dungeon, and into the cabins, and Jeremiah had remained there many days." xxxvii. 16. (p. [229](#).)

Jeremiah's dungeon.

"Then Zedekiah the king commanded that they should commit Jeremiah into the court of the prison, and that they should give him daily a piece of bread out of the bakers' street, until all the bread in the city were spent. Thus Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison." xxxvii. 21. (p. [229](#).)

Bakers' street.

"Then the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled, and went forth out of the city by night by the way

Gate between the two walls.

of the gate between the two walls, which was by the King's garden.  
king's garden; (now the Chaldeans were by the city  
round about:) and they went by the way of the plain." lii.  
7. (pp. [26](#), [188](#).)

"This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away People carried away  
captive: in the seventh year three thousand Jews and captive.  
three and twenty." lii. 28. (p. [50](#).)

"In the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar he carried  
away captive from Jerusalem eight hundred thirty and  
two persons." lii. 29. (p. [50](#).)

"In the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar  
Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard carried away  
captive of the Jews seven hundred forty and five  
persons: all the persons were four thousand and six  
hundred." lii. 30. (p. [50](#).)

#### Ezekiel.

"And behold a wall on the outside of the house round Cubits.  
about, and in the man's hand a measuring reed of six  
cubits long by the cubit and an hand breadth: so he  
measured the breadth of the building, one reed; and the  
height, one reed." xl. 5. (p. [283](#).)

"And in the porch of the gate were two tables on this Tables of sin offering.  
side, and two tables on that side, to slay thereon the  
burnt offering and the sin offering and the trespass  
offering." xl. 39. (pp. [55](#), [91](#).)

"And at the side without, as one goeth up to the entry of North gate, tables.  
the north gate, were two tables; and on the other side,  
which was at the porch of the gate, were two tables." xl.  
40. (p. [50](#), [55](#), [91](#).)

"I saw also the height of the house round about: the Cubits.  
foundations of the side chambers were a full reed of six  
great cubits." xli. 8. (p. [283](#).)

"And the glory of the Lord came into the house by the East Gate.  
way of the gate whose prospect is towards the east."  
xliii. 4. (p. [27](#).)

"... shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they, Carcases of the kings. nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places." xliii. 7.

"Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcases of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever." xliii. 9.

"And these are the measures of the altar after the cubits: Cubit. The cubit is a cubit and an hand breadth." xliii. 13. (pp. [49](#), [283](#).)

"Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the Waters. house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house stood toward the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar." xlvii. 1. (p. [256](#).)

#### Joel.

"I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down Valley of Jehoshaphat. into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land." iii. 2. (pp. [168](#), [307](#).)

"Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley Valley of Jehoshaphat. of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about." iii. 12. (pp. [168](#), [307](#).)

#### Micah.

"Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, Zion a field. and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." iii. 12. (pp. [3](#), [193](#).)

#### Zephaniah.

"And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, Fish gate. that there shall be the noise of a cry from the fish gate, Second gate. and an howling from the second, and a great crashing from the hills." i. 10. (pp. [25](#), [26](#).)[Pg 321]

#### S. Matthew.



"And when he saw a fig tree in the way, he came to it, and found nothing thereon, but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever. And presently the fig tree withered away." xxi. 19. (p. <a href="#">204.</a> )	Fig tree.
"Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder." xxvi. 36. (p. <a href="#">177.</a> )	Gethsemane.
"And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." xxvi. 39. (p. <a href="#">177.</a> )	Jesus prayed.
"And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?" xxvi. 40. (p. <a href="#">179.</a> )	Disciples asleep.
"And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people." xxvi. 47. (p. <a href="#">179.</a> )	Judas.
"Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast." xxvi. 48. (p. <a href="#">179.</a> )	Betrayal.
"And they that had laid hold on Jesus led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled." xxvi. 57. (p. <a href="#">220.</a> )	Caiaphas.
"Now Peter sat without in the palace: and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee." xxvi. 69. (p. <a href="#">221.</a> )	St. Peter.
"But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest." xxvi. 70. (p. <a href="#">221.</a> )	S. Peter's denial.
"And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly." xxvi. 75. (p. <a href="#">221.</a> )	S. Peter wept bitterly.

"And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in." xxvii. 7. (p. <a href="#">206</a> .)	Potter's field.
"Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day." xxvii. 8. (p. <a href="#">206</a> .)	Field of Blood.
"And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!" xxvii. 29. (p. <a href="#">138</a> .)	Crown of thorns.
"And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him." xxvii. 31. (p. <a href="#">138</a> .)	Crucify him.
"And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross." xxvii. 32. (p. <a href="#">142</a> .)	Cyrenian, Simon by name.
"And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull." xxvii. 33. (pp. <a href="#">107</a> , <a href="#">122</a> .)	Golgotha.
"And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots." xxvii. 35.	Parting the garments.
"And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent." xxvii. 51.	Rocks rent.
"And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth," xxvii. 59. (p. <a href="#">103</a> .)	Joseph.
"And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed." xxvii. 60. (p. <a href="#">103</a> .)	New tomb.
"And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre." xxvii. 61. (p. <a href="#">104</a> .)	S. Mary Magdalene.
"And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it."	Angel rolled back the stone.

xxviii. 2. (pp. [116](#), [118](#).)

S. Mark.

"And wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the goodman **Passover.**  
of the house, The Master saith, Where is the guest-  
chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my  
disciples?" xiv. 14. (p. [216](#).)

"And he will shew you a large upper room furnished **Large upper room.**  
and prepared: there make ready for us." xiv. 15. (p.  
[216](#).)

"And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man **Sepulchre.**  
sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment;  
and they were affrighted." xvi. 5. (p. [118](#).)

S. Luke.

"There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in **The rich man (Dives).**  
purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every  
day." xvi. 19. (p. [142](#).)

"And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which **Lazarus.**  
was laid at his gate, full of sores." xvi. 20. (p. [142](#).)

"And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and **Jesus wept over the city.**  
wept over it." xix. 41. (p. [190](#).)

"And he shall shew you a large upper room furnished: **Cœnaculum.**  
there make ready." xxii. 12. (p. [216](#).)

"And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and **Gethsemane.**  
his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling  
down to the ground." xxii. 44. (p. [177](#).)

"And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and **Herod.**  
mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and **Pilate.**  
sent him again to Pilate." xxiii. 11. (p. [141](#).)

"But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of **Daughters of Jerusalem.**  
Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves,  
and for your children." xxiii. 28. (p. [144](#).)

"And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid **Sepulchre hewn in stone.**  
it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never

man before was laid." xxiii. 53. (p. [103](#).)

"And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs." xxiv. 13. Emmaus.

"And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them." xxiv. 50. (p. [191](#).) Bethany.

S. John.

"Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?" ii. 20. (pp. [53](#), [55](#). [Pg 322]) Temple.

"Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches." v. 2. (pp. [59](#), [66](#).) Bethesda.

"And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked: and on the same day was the sabbath." v. 9. (p. [66](#).)

"And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, (which is by interpretation, Sent.) He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing." ix. 7. (pp. [185](#), [187](#).) Siloam.

"Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off." xi. 18. (p. [201](#).) Bethany.

"Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the grave. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it." xi. 38. (p. [201](#).) Cave of Lazarus.

"And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth." xi. 43. (p. [201](#).) Raising of Lazarus.

"When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples." xviii. 1. (pp. [170](#), [177](#).) Cedron. Garden.

"And led him away to Annas first; for he was father in law to Caiaphas, which was the high priest that same Annas. Caiaphas.

year." xviii. 13. (p. [156](#).)

"Then Pilate entered into the judgment hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews?" xviii. 33. (pp. [135](#), [137](#), [295](#).)

Pilate.

"Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him." xix. 1. (p. [139](#).)

Scourged by Pilate.

"When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha." xix. 13. (p. [295](#).)

Pavement. Gabbatha.

"And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha." xix. 17. (pp. [107](#), [122](#).)

Golgotha.

"This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was Written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin." xix. 20. (p. [103](#).)

Place of Crucifixion.

"Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout." xix. 23.

Garments of Jesus.

"Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid." xix. 41. (pp. [32](#), [103](#), [104](#).)

Garden. New Sepulchre.

"There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand." xix. 42. (p. [104](#).)

nigh at hand.

"Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." xx. 15.

Gardener.

#### The Acts of the Apostles.

"And when he had spoken these things, while they

Ascension.

beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight." i. 9. (p. [191](#).)

"Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." i 11. (p. [191](#).)

Ye men of Galilee.

"Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey." i. 12. (pp. [21](#), [191](#), [284](#).)

Sabbath-day's journey.

"And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood." i. 19. (p. [206](#).)

Aceldama.

"And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place." ii. 1. (p. [217](#).)

Pentecost.

"Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day." ii. 29. (p. [211](#).)

Sepulchre of David.

"And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple." iii. 2.

Gate of the temple.

"And cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul." vii. 58. (pp. [168](#), [223](#).)

S. Stephen stoned.

"And he killed James the brother of John with the sword." xii. 2. (p. [157](#).)

S. James martyred.

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**PASSAGES FROM JOSEPHUS'S ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,  
TAKEN FROM THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF  
WILLIAM WHISTON, A.M.**

"So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, King of Salem. who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of King's Dale. Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called the King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies the righteous king; and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterwards called Salem Jerusalem." Book I. chap. X. par. 2.

"But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart, that the King of Jerusalem. Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them." V. I. 17.

"And when they had taken the greatest part of them The allies, that is, the tribes of Judah and Simeon. [the cities], they besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the The lower city. upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place." V. II. 2.

"Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of David takes the city by Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut assault. their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him; so he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the



command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither; out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command." VII. III. 1.

"When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, City of David.  
he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it, 'The City of David,' and abode there all the time of his reign." VII. III. 2.

"Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors Hiram, king of Tyre.  
to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar-trees and mechanics, and men skilful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, the City of David: for under our forefather, Abraham, it was called [Salem or] Solyma." VII. III. 2.

"I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a Araunah the Jebusite is  
wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by saved by David.  
David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself, which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak a little of afterwards." VII. III. 3.

"Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and Tomb of Absalom.  
pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones[Pg 324] upon him till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and bigness of a grave." VII. X. 2.

"Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar Absalom's Pillar.

in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, King's Dale.  
which he named Absalom's Hand." VII. X. 3.

"And when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem." VII. XI. 7. Gibeon forty furlongs from Jerusalem.

"And sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices." VII. XIII. 4. Altar in the threshing floor of Araunah.

"Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place." VII. XIII. 4. Mount Moriah.

"Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there." VII. XIII. 4. Place of the temple.

"He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with; moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him." VII. XV. 3. David buried at Jerusalem.

"He married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem, much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably." VIII. II. 1. Solomon fortifies Jerusalem.

"Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time." VIII. III. 2. Foundations of the temple.

"Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way] to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary." VIII. III. 3. Dimensions of the temple.

"Solomon made the altar which he built for the burnt- Altar of burnt offerings.

offerings twenty cubits long, twenty broad, and ten high." VIII. III. 7.

"Some of these [houses] Solomon built with stones of ten cubits." VIII. V. 2.      Size of the stones.

"Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city), he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them." VIII. VI. 1.      Solomon increases the fortifications of Jerusalem.

"And when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round Jerusalem." VIII. VII. 7.      Jeroboam.

"So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem." VIII. VII. 8.      Solomon interred at Jerusalem.

"So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenants he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him." VIII. X. 3.      The Egyptian king Shishak at Jerusalem.

"Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army, under Rabshakeh his general, in danger [by a plague, for] God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed." X. I. 5.      Destruction of Sennacherib's army.

"And when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the King's palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months,

Nebuchadnezzar burns the temple.

and ten days after it was built." X. VIII. 5.

"Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste Alexander the Great at  
to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua, the high-priest, Jerusalem.  
when he heard that, was in an agony and under terror."  
XI. VIII. 4.

"It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, Sapha.  
translated into Greek, signifies a prospect; for you  
have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the  
temple." XI. VIII. 5.

"Syria, by the means of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, at  
underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour Jerusalem.  
which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and  
for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for he  
came into the city on a sabbath-day, as if he would  
offer sacrifices." XII. I. 1.

"King Antiochus returning out of Egypt, for fear of the Antiochus Epiphanes at  
Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem.  
Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred  
forty and third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ,  
he took the city without fighting, those of his own  
party opening the gates to him. And when he had  
gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the  
opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great  
deal of money, he returned to Antioch." XII. V. 3.

"And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the Cruelty of Antiochus, who  
inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, builds the citadel in the  
together with their wives and children, so that the lower part of the city.  
multitude of those captives that were taken alive  
amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down  
the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the  
city-walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the  
city; for the place was high, and overlooked the  
temple, on which account he fortified it with high  
walls and towers; and put into it a garrison of  
Macedonians." XII. V. 4.

"Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad Mattathias.  
state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city,

and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for[Pg 325] them to die for the laws of their country than to live so ingloriously as they then did." XII. VI. 1.

"Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein." XII. VII. 7. Judas repairs the walls of Jerusalem.

"He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it." XIII. VI. 7. Simon, master of the citadel of Jerusalem, razes it with the ground.

"But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on his wealth, maintained foreign troops." XIII. VIII. 4. Hyrcanus opens the tomb of David.

"Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was underground, and dark, (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia)." XIII. XI. 2. Aristobulus causes the death of Antigonus.

"So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him." XIII. XI. 2. Antigonus killed in the tower of Strato.

"At this Pompeius was very angry, and put Aristobulus Pompeius approaches

into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed with a very strong stone wall." XIV. IV. 1.	Jerusalem.
"Pompeius pitched his camp within [the wall], on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompeius had gotten in was broken down." XIV. IV. 2.	Pompeius pitches his camp on the north side of the temple.
"His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antonius afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre." XIV. VII. 4.	Aristobulus interred in the tomb of the kings.
"And they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria." XIV. XVI. 1.	Troops of Herod and Sosius.
"The first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city, were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city." XIV. XVI. 2.	Herod's siege.
"He built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain." XV. VIII. 1.	Herod's theatre, amphitheatre.
"He had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia." XV. VIII. 5.	Herod's two fortresses.
"So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid	Dimensions of Herod's

others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve." XV. XI. 3.

"Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high-priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower." XV. XI. 4.

"... when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia." XV. XI. 4.

"Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent; for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter." XV. XI. 5.

"There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterranean ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings." XV. XI. 7.

"... he had a great while an intention to make the

temple.

Tower of Baris, afterwards called Antonia.

Tower Antonia.

Four gates to the north of the temple-enclosure.

Herod's subterranean gallery from the Antonia tower to the eastern gate.

Herod opens the tomb of



attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by David.  
night and went into it, and endeavoured that it should  
not be at all known in the city, but took only his most  
faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found  
none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold,  
and those precious goods that were laid up there; all  
which he took away. However, he had a great desire to  
make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even  
as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where  
two of his guards[Pg 326] were slain by a flame that  
burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So  
he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a  
propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in;  
and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre,  
and at a great expense also." XVI. VII. 1.

"But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and Pilate constructs  
derived the origin of the stream from the distance of acqueducts.  
two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not  
pleased with what had been done about this water; and  
many ten thousands of the people got together and  
made a clamour against him, and insisted that he  
should leave off that design." XVIII. III. 2.

"Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if Jesus Christ.  
it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of  
wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the  
truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of  
the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the]  
Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the  
principal men among us, had condemned him to the  
cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake  
him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day;  
as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten  
thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And  
the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not  
extinct at this day." XVIII. III. 3.

"As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to King Agrippa begins to  
the new city [Bezetha], he repaired them at the fortify Jerusalem, but is  
expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, prevented from proceeding  
and higher in altitude; and he had made them too by Claudius.

strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cæsar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed; as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius." XIX. VII. 2.

"But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem." XX. IV. 3.

"About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situated upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple: which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals." XX. VIII. 11.

"Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others [or some of his companions] and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he

Pyramids of Helena three furlongs from the city.

Agrippa's palace, whence could be seen all that passed in the temple.

The younger Ananus, high-priest, puts S. James to death.

delivered them to be stoned." XX. IX. 1.

"... so they [the people] persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length], and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple." XX. IX. 7.

King Agrippa refuses to rebuild the eastern gate of the temple.

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**PASSAGES FROM JOSEPHUS'S HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR,**  
**TAKEN FROM THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF**  
**ROBERT TRAILL, D.D. M.R.I.A.**

"That monarch, long intent on the enterprise, was prevailed on; and, pressing forward at the head of a formidable army, he took Jerusalem by assault, put to the sword vast numbers of those attached to the interests of Ptolemy, allowed his troops unrestricted pillage, despoiled the temple in person, and, during three years and six months, interrupted the course of the daily sacrifices." I. I. 1.

Antiochus Epiphanes at Jerusalem.

"In the ardour of victory Judas attacked the garrison in the city, which had not yet been reduced, and having expelled the troops from the upper town, drove them into the lower, a quarter of the city called Acra. Being now master of the temple, he purified the place throughout, and walled it round." I. I. 4.

Judas attacks the garrison at Jerusalem. Purifies the temple.

"Antiochus, enraged by what he had endured at the hands of Simon, led an army into Judæa, and sitting down before Jerusalem, besieged Hyrcanus; who, opening the sepulchre of David, the richest of kings, and privately taking out upwards of three thousand talents in money, both induced Antiochus, by the payment of three hundred, to raise the siege; and also,

Judas attacks the garrison at Jerusalem. Purifies the temple.

from the remaining surplus, maintained—the first of the Jews to do so—a mercenary force." I. II. 5.

"Gradually, and with reluctance, Aristobulus credited these insinuations. Yet careful, at once, to avoid the semblance of suspicion, and to provide against any covert attempt, he stationed his body-guards in a dark subterraneous passage—he was himself at the time confined to bed, in a tower formerly called Baris, but subsequently named Antonia—with orders to allow Antigonus, if unarmed, to pass; but to despatch him, should he approach in arms." I. III. 3.

Aristobulus. Antigonus.  
Tower of Baris.

"But, on reaching the dark passage, known by the name of Strato's Tower, he [Antigonus] was killed by the body-guards." I. III. 4.

Strato's Tower.

"Incensed at this, Pompeius committed Aristobulus to custody; and having advanced to the city, he considered well on what point he should direct his attack. He found the walls, from their height, of almost impregnable strength, with a frightful ravine in front of them: while within this the temple was so strongly fortified, that, even after the capture of the town, it would afford a second refuge to the enemy." I. VII. 1.

Pompeius reconnoitres the  
city of Jerusalem.

"The adherents of Aristobulus, being discomfited in the contest, retired into the temple, and, breaking down the bridge which connected it with the city, prepared to hold out to the last." I. VII. 2.

The bridge broken down by  
Aristobulus' party.

"The Roman commander now filled up the fosse, and the whole of the ravine, which lay on the north quarter, the troops collecting materials. This was an undertaking of difficulty, not only on account of the prodigious depth of the ravine, but from the impediments of every kind offered by the Jews from above." I. VII. 3.

Pompeius fills up the fosse  
of the town.

"Herod, accordingly, at an incalculable expense, and in a style of unsurpassed magnificence, in the fifteenth year of his reign, restored the Temple, and

Herod rebuilds the temple.  
Palaces of Cæsarium and

breasted up with a wall the area round it, so as to enlarge it to twice its former extent. An evidence of its sumptuousness were the ample colonnades around the holy place, and the fort on its northern side. The colonnades he reared from the foundation; the fort, in nothing inferior to a palace, he repaired at an immense cost; and called it Antonia, in honour of Antonius. He also constructed a residence for himself in the upper town, containing two very spacious, and not less beautiful buildings, with which the Temple itself bore no comparison. These he designated after his friends, the one Cæsarium, the other Agrippium." I. XXI. 1.

Agrippium.

"He subsequently occasioned another tumult, by expending the sacred treasure, called Corban, in the construction of an aqueduct. He brought the water from a distance[Pg 328] of four hundred furlongs. Indignant at this profanation, the populace, on his return to Jerusalem, collected with loud clamours about his tribunal." II. IX. 4.

Pilate constructs aqueducts.

"Cestius, seeing that these intestine dissensions afforded him a favourable opportunity for attack, led out his entire force, routed the Jews, and pursued them to the gates of Jerusalem. Encamping at a place called The Scopus, distant seven furlongs from the city, he for three days suspended his operations against it." II. XIX. 4.

Cestius encamps on Mount Scopus.

"Cestius, on entering, set fire to Bezetha, so named, the Cœnopolis, and the place called the Timber Market; and, proceeding to the upper town, encamped opposite the royal residence." II. XIX. 4.

Cestius encamps opposite the royal palace.

"For Titus, having drawn together part of his troops to himself, and sent orders to the others to meet him at Jerusalem, broke up from Cæsarea. There were the three legions which, under the command of his father, had before ravaged Judæa, and the twelfth, that had formerly been defeated with Cestius, and which, remarkable at all times for its valour, on this occasion, from a recollection of what had befallen it,

Number of the troops of Titus engaged in the siege of Jerusalem.

advanced with greater alacrity to revenge. Of these, he directed the fifth to join him by the route of Ammaus, and the tenth to go up by that of Jericho; while he himself moved forward with the remainder, attended, beside these, by the contingents from the allied sovereigns, all in increased force, and by a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries.

"Detachments having been drafted by Vespasian from the four legions, and sent with Mucianus into Italy, their places were filled up from among the troops that had come with Titus. For two thousand men, selected from among the forces of Alexandria, and three thousand of the guards from the Euphrates, accompanied him; and with them, Tiberius Alexander." V. I. 6.

"Leading on his forces in orderly array, according to Roman usage, Titus marched through Samaria to Gophna, which had been previously taken by his father, and was then garrisoned. Here he rested for the night, and, setting forward early in the morning, advanced a day's march, and encamped in the valley, which is called by the Jews, in their native tongue, 'The Valley of Thorns,' adjacent to a village named Gabath-Saul, which signifies 'Saul's Hill,' distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. From hence, accompanied by about six hundred picked horsemen, he rode forward to reconnoitre the strength of the city, and ascertain the disposition of the Jews, whether, on seeing him, they would be terrified into a surrender previous to any actual conflict." V. II. 1.

"While he continued to ride along the direct route which led to the wall, no one appeared before the gates; but on his filing off from the road towards the tower Psephinus, and taking an oblique direction with his squadron, the Jews suddenly rushed out in immense numbers at a spot called 'The Women's Towers,' through the gate opposite the monuments of Helena. They broke through his ranks, and placing themselves in front of the troops who were still advancing along the road, prevented them from

Titus with 600 cavalry reconnoitres Jerusalem.

Titus attacked by the Jews by the monument of Helena.

The Women's Towers.

joining their comrades, who had filed off, and thus intercepted Titus with only a handful of men. For him to move forward was impossible; as the entire space was intersected by transverse walls and numerous fences, and separated from the ramparts by dykes made for gardening purposes." V. II. 2.

"Cæsar, being joined during the night by the legion from Ammaus, moved the next day from thence, and advanced to Scopus, as it is called, the place from which the city first became visible, and the stately pile of the sanctuary shone forth; whence it is that this spot—a flat adjoining the northern quarter of the town—is appropriately called Scopus (the Prospect). When at the distance of seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered a camp to be formed for two of the legions together; the fifth he stationed three furlongs in rear of them: thinking that, as they had been fatigued with their march during the night, they required to be covered, that they might throw up their entrenchments with less apprehension. Scarcely had they commenced their operations, when the tenth legion arrived. It had advanced through Jericho, where a party of soldiers had lain to guard the pass formerly taken possession of by Vespasian. These troops had received orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the Mount of Olives, so called, which lies over against the city on the east, and is separated from it by a deep intervening ravine, which bears the name of Kedron." V. II. 3.	Titus encamps at Scopus, seven furlongs from Jerusalem.  The tenth legion upon the Mount of Olives.
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"Titus intending to break up from Scopus, and encamp nearer to the city, stationed a body of picked men, horse and foot, in such force as he deemed sufficient to check the sallies of the enemy, and employed the main body of his army in levelling the intervening ground as far as the walls. All the fences and hedges, with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and orchards, being accordingly swept away, and the fruit trees in the whole of the intermediate distance felled, the hollows and chasms	Titus levels the ground between Scopus and Jerusalem.  Tomb of Herod. Serpents' Pool.
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of the place were filled up, and the rocky eminences removed with iron implements; and thus the whole space from Scopus to the monuments of Herod, adjacent to what is called 'The Serpents' Pool,' was reduced to a level." V. III. 2.

"Accordingly, after maintaining a long contest with their spears, and receiving many wounds from their opponents, but inflicting not fewer in return, they eventually drove back the party who had surrounded them. The Jews, however, as soon as they began to retire, pursued them as far as the monuments of Helena, annoying them with missiles." V. III. 3.

"In four days, the interval between his post and the walls having been levelled, Titus, anxious to forward in safety the baggage and the followers of the army, ranged the flower of his troops opposite the wall on the northern quarter of the city, and extending towards the west, the phalanx being drawn up seven deep. The infantry were dis[Pg 329]posed in front, and the cavalry in rear, each in three ranks; the archers, who formed the seventh, being in the middle.

"The sallies of the Jews being checked by such an array, the beasts of burthen belonging to the three legions, with the camp followers, passed on in safety. Titus himself encamped about two furlongs from the ramparts, at the corner opposite the tower called Psephinus, where the circuit of the wall, in its advance along the north side, bends with a western aspect. The other division of the army was entrenched opposite to the tower named Hippicus, distant, in like manner, two furlongs from the city. The tenth legion continued to occupy its position on the Mount of Olives, as it is called." V. III. 5.

Tomb of Helena. Sortie of the Jews.

Titus encamps opposite the Tower of Psephinus.

Another division opposite the Tower of Hippicus, and the tenth legion upon the Mount of Olives.

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*Description of the walls of Jerusalem.*

"Jerusalem, fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed by its impassable ravines, for there it had but a single rampart—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by

an intervening valley, at which the rows of houses terminated. Of these hills, that on which the upper town was situated is much higher and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Fortress by king David, the father of Solomon, by whom the temple was originally erected; but by us the Upper Market-place. The other, which bears the name of Acra, and supports the lower town, is of a gibbous form. Opposite to this was a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and formerly severed from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Asmonæans, during their reign, filled up the ravine, with the intention of uniting the city to the temple; and, levelling the summit of Acra, they reduced its elevation, so that the temple might be conspicuous above other objects in this quarter also. The Valley of the Cheese-makers, as it was designated, which divided, as we have said, the hill of the upper town from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam, as we call it, a fountain whose waters are at once sweet and copious. On the exterior, the two hills on which the city stood were skirted by deep ravines, so precipitous on either side that the town was nowhere accessible." V. IV. 1.

"Of the three walls, the most ancient, as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above them on which it was erected, was almost impregnable. But, besides the advantages of its situation, it was also strongly built; David and Solomon, as well as their successors on the throne, having devoted much attention to the work.

"Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippicus, First Wall. and extending to what was termed the Xystus, it then formed a junction with the council-house, and terminated at the western colonnade of the temple. On the other side, towards the west, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it was styled, to the gate of the Essenes. It then turned, and advanced with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam, whence it again inclined, facing the east,

towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot, designated Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the temple.

"The second had its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first wall. It reached to the Antonia, and encircled only the northern quarter of the town. The tower Hippicus formed the commencement of the third wall, which stretched from thence towards the northern quarter, as far as the tower Psephinus, and then passing opposite the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates, and extending through the royal caverns, was inflected at the corner tower near to the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb; and, connecting itself with the old wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall King Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected; for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts; and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse, purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the altitude of the towers.

"The quarter most recently built was called, in our language, Bezetha, which, if translated into the Greek tongue, would be Cænopolis (New-town). Those who resided there requiring defence, the father of the present sovereign, and of the same name, Agrippa, commenced the wall we have mentioned. But, apprehending that Claudius Cæsar might suspect from the magnitude of the structure that he entertained some designs of innovation and insurrection, he desisted when he had merely laid the

Second Wall.

Third Wall.

King Agrippa commences the third Wall.

foundations. For, indeed, had he completed that wall upon the scale on which it was begun, the city would have been impregnable. It was constructed of stones twenty cubits long and ten broad, fitted into each other in such a manner that they could scarcely have been undermined with iron, or shaken by engines. The wall itself was ten cubits in breadth; and it would probably have attained a greater height than it did, had not the enterprising spirit of its founder met with a check; but, subsequently, though the work was carried on with ardour by the Jews, it only rose to the height of twenty cubits; while, crowning this, were battlements of two cubits, upon parapets of three cubits in altitude, so that it attained in its entire elevation twenty-five cubits." V. IV. 2.

"On this wall were erected towers, twenty cubits in breadth, and the same in height, square, and solid as the wall itself. In the joining and beauty of the stones, they[Pg 330] were nowise inferior to the temple. Over the solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, were sumptuous apartments; and above these, again, upper rooms, and numerous cisterns therein to receive the rain-water, and to each room wide staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of two hundred cubits.

Description of the third Wall.  
Ninety towers in the third Wall.

"The middle wall was divided into fourteen towers, and the ancient one into sixty. Of the city the entire circuit was thirty-three furlongs. But admirable as was the third wall throughout, still more so was the tower Psephinus, which rose up at the north-west angle, and opposite to which Titus encamped. Being seventy cubits high, it afforded at sunrise a prospect of Arabia, and of the limits of the Hebrew territories as far as the sea; it was octagonal in form.

The middle Wall had fourteen towers, the ancient sixty.  
The Psephinus tower.

"Over against this was the tower Hippicus, and near to it two others, all erected by king Herod in the ancient wall, which in magnitude, beauty and strength, exceeded all that the world could produce." V. IV. 3.

Hippicus.

"Hippicus, so called from his friend, was Hippicus' Tower.  
quadrangular, its length and breadth being each  
twenty-five cubits, and to the height of thirty cubits it  
was solid throughout. Above this solid part, which  
was constructed of stones formed into one compact  
mass, was a reservoir to receive the rain, twenty  
cubits deep, over which was a house of two stories,  
twenty-five cubits high, and divided into various  
apartments. Above this were battlements of two  
cubits in height, mounted upon parapets of three; so  
that the entire altitude amounted to eighty cubits.

"The second tower, which he named Phasaëlus, from Phasaëlus.  
his brother, was of equal length and breadth, forty  
cubits each, and the same in solid height. Over this,  
and embracing the whole of the structure, was a  
gallery, ten cubits high, defended by breast-work and  
battlements....

"The third tower, Mariamne—for such was the Mariamne.  
queen's name—was solid to the height of twenty  
cubits; its breadth, also, being twenty cubits, and its  
length the same." V. IV. 3.

"Of this the entire elevation was fifty-five cubits." V.  
IV. 3.

"But while such was the actual magnitude of these Site of the three towers.  
three towers, their site added much to their apparent  
dimensions. For the ancient wall in which they stood  
was itself built on a lofty hill; and higher still rose up  
in front, to the height of thirty cubits, a kind of crest  
of the hill; on this the towers rested, and thus acquired  
a much greater altitude....

"To these towers, which lay northward, was attached  
on the inner side the royal residence, which exceeded  
all description....

"The conflagration began at Antonia, passed onward  
to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three  
towers." V. IV. 4.

"The temple, as I have said, was seated on a strong The Temple.

hill. Originally, the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But king Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment. On the other sides, the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, however, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied." V. V. 1.

"The colonnades were thirty cubits broad, and their entire circuit, including the Antonia, measured six furlongs." V. V. 2.	Circuit of the Temple six furlongs.
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"Advancing within, the lower story of the sanctuary received you. This was sixty cubits in height, and the same in length, while its breadth was twenty cubits. These sixty cubits of length were again divided. The first part partitioned off at forty cubits." V. V. 5.	Dimensions of the Temple.
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"The innermost recess of the temple measured twenty cubits, and was separated in like manner from the outer by a veil. In this, nothing whatever was deposited. Unapproachable, inviolable, and to be seen by none, it was called the Holy of the Holy." V. V. 5.	Dimensions relative to the Temple.
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"The Antonia lay at the angle formed by two colonnades, the western and the northern, of the first court of the temple. It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high, and on every side precipitous. It was a work of king Herod, in which he particularly evinced the natural greatness of his mind. For, first, the rock was covered from the base upwards with smooth stone flags, as well for ornament, as that any one who attempted to ascend or descend might slip off. Next, and in front of the edifice itself, there was a wall of three cubits; and within this the entire space occupied by the Antonia rose to an altitude of forty cubits.	Position of the Antonia Tower.
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"... The upper town had its own fortress—Herod's	Citadel in the upper town.
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palace. The hill Bezetha was detached, as I have mentioned, from the Antonia. It was the highest of the Temple. Bezetha, north of the three, and was joined on to part of the new town forming northward the only obstruction to the view of the temple." V. V. 8.

"The whole number of fighting men and insurgents in the city was as follows. Attached to Simon were ten thousand men, irrespective of the Idumæans. Over these were fifty officers, Simon himself acting as Commander-in-chief. The Idumæans who joined his ranks, five thousand in number, had ten leaders, of whom James, the son of Sosas, and Simon, the son of Cathlas, were reputed to be the foremost. John, who had seized on the temple, had under his orders six thousand men-at-arms, commanded by twenty officers. The Zealots, also, had now laid aside their differences and gone over to him, to the number of two thousand four hundred, led by Eleazar, their former general, and Simon, son of Ari." V. VI. 1.[Pg 331] Forces of the besieged in Jerusalem.

"Simon occupied the upper town and the great wall, as far as the Kedron, with as much of the old wall as, bending eastward from Siloam, descended to the palace of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, beyond the Euphrates. He held, likewise, the fountain and the Acra, which was the lower town, with the interval as far as the palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus. John occupied the temple, and the parts about it to a considerable distance, with Ophla, and the valley called Kedron." V. VI. 1. Position occupied by Simon. Position occupied by John.

"While affairs in the city were in this posture, Titus, with a select detachment of horse, rode round the wall, in order to ascertain against what quarter he should direct his attack. Utterly at a loss on what side to assail them, there being no access at any point through the ravines, while on the other side, the first wall appeared too firm for the engines, he determined to make the assault opposite to the monument of John, the high priest, for at this point the outer bulwark was lower, and the second was not Titus examines the Walls. Monument of the high priest John.



connected, the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the new town was thinly inhabited; but there was easy access to the third wall, through which he designed to capture the upper town, and through the Antonia, the temple." V. VI. 2.

"He at once gave the legions permission to lay waste the suburbs, and ordered them to collect the timber together for the construction of mounds." V. VI. 2.

Suburbs.

".... The Romans having mounted where Nico had effected a breach, they all abandoned their posts, and retreated to the second wall; when those who had scaled the ramparts opened the gates, and admitted the entire army. The Romans having thus, on the fifteenth day, which was the seventh of the month Artemisius, become masters of the first wall, laid a great part of it in ruins, as they did the northern quarters of the city, which Cestius had formerly demolished." V. VII. 2.

Taking of the first Wall.

"Titus now transferred his camp to a place within the wall, styled the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying the entire interval as far as the Kedron, but keeping at such a distance from the second rampart as to be out of range of the missiles, and immediately commenced the attack. The Jews, dividing their forces, made a vigorous defence from the wall; John and his party fighting from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the temple, and in front of the monuments of king Alexander; while Simon's band, intercepting the assault near John's monument, manned the intervening space as far as the gate through which the water was introduced to the tower Hippicus." V. VII. 3.

Titus occupies the space between the camp of the Assyrians and the Kedron.

Gate of the aqueducts.

"On the fifth day after the reduction of the first wall Cæsar stormed the second at this point; and as the Jews fled from it, he entered with a thousand men, and the select band which he retained about his person, at that part of the new town where were the wool-marts, the braziers' shops, and the clothes market, and where the streets led obliquely to the

Titus makes himself master of the second Wall.

ramparts." V. VIII. 1.

"The cessation he employed for his own purposes. The stated day for distributing pay among the troops having arrived, he directed the officers to draw out the force, and count out the money to each man in view of the enemy." V. IX. 1.

Titus exhibits his troops.

"And nothing could be more gratifying to the Romans, or more terrifying to the enemy than that spectacle. The whole of the ancient wall and the northern quarter of the temple were crowded with spectators, and the houses were to be seen filled with people on the look-out; nor was there a spot in the city which was not covered with multitudes." V. IX. 1.

The Jews see the review of the troops Titus.

"Those at work beside the monument, the Idumæans, and the troops of Simon, impeded by repeated sallies; while those before the Antonia were obstructed by John and his associates, in conjunction with the Zealots." V. IX. 2.

The Idumæans.

"One of those at the Antonia was thrown up by the fifth legion, opposite to the middle of the reservoir, called Struthios; and the other by the twelfth legion at the distance of about twenty cubits. The tenth legion, which was considerably apart from these, was occupied on the northern quarter, and by the reservoir designated Amygdalon, and about thirty cubits from thence the fifteenth legion, at the high-priest's monument." V. XI. 4.

Mounds and their positions.  
Struthios reservoir.

Amygdalon.

"Commencing at the camp of the Assyrians, where his own tent was pitched, he drew the wall to the lower Cænopolis, and thence through the Kedron to the Mount of Olives. Then bending back towards the south, he encompassed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the adjoining hill, which overhangs the ravine near Siloam. Thence inclining towards the west, he went down into the valley of the Fountain, beyond which he ascended by the monument of the high-priest Ananus, and, taking in

The assailants make the wall of circumvallation.

the mount where Pompey encamped, turned to the north, proceeding as far as a hamlet, called 'The house of Erebinths:' passing which, he enclosed Herod's monument, and on the east once more united it to his own camp at the point whence it commenced.

"The wall was in length forty furlongs, wanting one. Attached to it on the outside were thirteen forts, whose united circumferences measured ten furlongs." V. XII. 2.

"Mannæus, the son of Lazarus, who at this period took refuge with Titus, declared that, from the fourteenth of the month of Xanthicus, the day on which the Romans encamped before the walls, until the new moon of Panemus, there were carried through that one gate which had been entrusted to him, a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty corpses." V. XIII. 7. Number of the dead.

"After him many of the higher ranks escaped; and they brought word that full six hundred thousand of the humbler classes had been thrown out through the gates. Of the others it was impossible to ascertain the number." V. XIII. 7. Number of the dead.

"The Jews fled into the temple; the Romans also[Pg 332] making their way in through the mine which John had excavated under their mounds." VI. I. 7. Excavations in Jerusalem.

"Titus now ordered his troops to raze the foundations of the Antonia, and prepare an easy ascent for his whole force." VI. II. 1. Titus destroys the Tower Antonia.

"In the meantime, the remainder of the Roman force, Titus enters the outer court having in seven days overturned the foundation of the of the Temple. Antonia, had prepared a wide ascent as far as the temple. The legions now approached the first wall, and commenced their mounds—one opposite the north-west angle of the inner temple, a second at the northern chamber, which was between the two gates, and of the remaining two, one at the western colonnade of the outer court of the temple, the other

without, at the northern." VI. II. 7.

"Titus now withdrew into the Antonia, determined on the following morning about daybreak to attack with his whole force and invest the temple. That edifice God had, indeed, long since destined to the flames; but now in revolving years had arrived the fated day, the tenth of the month Lous, the very day on which the former temple had been burned by the king of Babylon." VI. IV. 5. Titus takes the Temple.

"Titus took his stand on the western side of the outer court of the temple; there being a gate in that quarter beyond the Xystus, and a bridge which connected the upper town with the temple, and which then intervened between the tyrants and Cæsar." VI. VI. 2. Bridge of Xystus.

"Orders were then issued to the troops to plunder and burn the city. On that day, however, nothing was done; but on the following day they set fire to the residence of the magistrates, the Acra, the council chamber, and the place called Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra. The streets also were consumed." VI. VI. 3. Titus gives up the city to pillage.

"On the ensuing day the Romans, having driven the brigands from the lower town, burned all, as far as Siloam." VI. VII. 2. The Romans in the lower town.

"The works of the four legions were raised on the western side of the city, opposite to the royal palace, while the auxiliaries and the rest of the force laboured in the region of the Xystus, the bridge, and the tower which Simon, during his contest with John, had built as a fortress for himself." VI. VIII. 1. Titus attacks the upper city.

"And when, at a later period, he destroyed the remainder of the city, and razed the walls, he allowed these towers to stand as a memorial of the favour of fortune, by whose cooperation he had become master of those strongholds, which could never have been Destruction of the city.

reduced by force of arms." VI. IX. 1.

"The whole number of prisoners taken during the entire course of the war was calculated at ninety-seven thousand; while those who perished in the siege, from its commencement to its close, amounted to one million one hundred thousand. Of these the greater part were of Jewish blood, though not natives of the place. Having assembled from the whole country for the feast of unleavened bread, they were suddenly hemmed in by the war; so that their confined situation caused at first a pestilential disease, and afterwards famine also, still more rapid in its effects." VI. IX. 3.

Number of Jews killed and taken prisoners.

"Cæsar ordered the whole of the city and the sanctuary to be razed to the foundations, leaving the three loftiest towers, Phasaëlus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and that portion of the wall which enclosed the town on the west; the latter as an encampment for those who should remain there in garrison; the towers, to indicate to future times how splendid and how strong a city had yielded to Roman valour. All the rest of the wall that encompassed the city was so completely levelled with the ground that there was no longer anything to lead those who visited the spot to believe that it had ever been inhabited. So fell Jerusalem, a victim of revolutionary frenzy: a magnificent city, and celebrated throughout the world." VII. I. 1.

Final destruction of Jerusalem.

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"There are many strong places and villages in the country of Judæa, but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men or thereabout." (Against Apion, I. 22.)

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### PANORAMA OF JERUSALEM, SEEN FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

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